THE COMMUNIST

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In the Midst of Great Historic Battles

BEFORE President Roosevelt departed on his armed cruiser vacation he asked the American people, in a radio speech, to examine their conditions and see if they are not better off today than they were a year ago. The wave of strikes throughout the country, since the N.R.A., and particularly the strikes in recent months, are proof of the fact that the conditions of the toiling masses under Roosevelt, far from being better, have become worse. This is the real reason for the strikes. But these strikes, especially that of the maritime workers on the West Coast, and above all the San Francisco general strike, reveal more than the fact of worsened conditions. They signify the growing mass resistance of the workers against the new wave of attacks on their living standards and are the beginning of a counter-offensive of the American working class against the efforts of the bosses to get out of the crisis in the capitalist way.

We are not yet in a position to make a complete evaluation of the lessons of the San Francisco general strike. Some major conclusions can, however, be drawn. Unquestionably, the recent developments of the class struggle have conclusively demonstrated the correctness of the Communist Party's political analysis of the relationship of the class forces and the general situation in the country. The Communist Party pointed out in its resolution of the Eighth National Convention, that "the magnitude of the struggles shows that the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy and that big class battles are maturing". The betrayal of the San Francisco general strike does not mark the end of these big class battles. On the contrary, not only the proletariat but also the bourgeoisie fully realize that the struggle is irrepressible and that greater class battles are maturing. "Nothing yet is settled," says Herman Feldman, professor of Industrial Relations, Dartmouth College, in the special leading article in *The New York Times* of July 27. In the same article the professor writes that, "moreover, there are danger points in the relations of employers and employees in several of the major industries in which a crisis occurred during the spring and in which settlements, now recognized as more like an armistice, were effected through government intervention".

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In a similar vein writes Turner Catledge, in a Washington dispatch to *The New York Times* of July 21:

> "Regardless of the outcome of any or every one of the specific disputes sprinkled over the map, all elements are agreed that the new and sharper issues which have developed during the past year between labor and management arise from causes too fundamental to be settled or even materially diminished by the suggested palliatives."

What are "these causes" which even the American bourgeoisie considers "too fundamental to be settled or even materially diminished by the suggested palliatives"? These causes are to be found in the measures of the American bourgeoisie toward finding its capitalist way out of the crisis. In the early stages of the N.R.A., the strike movement was called forth by the fact that American capitalism centered its major attack on the rights of the workers to organize into genuine trade unions. At that time the bourgeoisie, as a "necessary strategy" (National City Bank Bulletin, May, 1934), had not yet made direct attacks upon workers' wages. In fact, in certain industries workers received small wage increases or partial restoration of previous wage cuts. The economic basis of the strike movement in 1933 was the diminishing real income of the workers as a result of the rapidly rising cost of living. Today the strategy of the American bourgeoisie is changing. The power of the trusts and monopolies has increased through further combination and elimination of what is called "inefficient business", through immense government subsidies and further finance capital control of the government. American capitalism has not only intensified the terror against workers who are attempting to organize, but it is now engaged in a drive against the existing trade unions. The most outstanding fact, however, is the campaign now initiated by the employers for direct wage cuts. The capitalist press is flooded with statements against the prevailing "exorbitantly high wages" particularly in the heavy industries, which they term the major obstacle to the return of "prosperity". The American bourgeoisie is even placing the blame for the discrepancy between agricultural and industrial prices and for the ruination of the farmers upon the "high" wages of the workers. It is now preparing a drive for new wage cuts. Therefore, the causes which called forth the broad strike movement still exist and make themselves increasingly felt by the American working class. Hence the official betrayal of the San Francisco general strike does not reflect the end of the strike movement but marks its continuation on a higher plane.

Looking upon the present strike struggles in the light of past experience we learn that the greatest number of strikes ever to have

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occurred in the United States (1919), developed soon after the Seattle general strike in February of that year. To draw the proper conclusions from this historical comparison we must take into consideration the higher level of the present labor movement, the existence of a Communist Party and an entirely different perspective for capitalism.

HIGHER FORMS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

What do the present strikes, especially the general strike in San Francisco, show? In the first place, as was pointed out by the recently held meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, higher forms of class action are being developed by the American proletariat. These higher forms are the mass character of strikes and the increasing resort to the weapon of the general strike.

Though the strikes of the truckmen in Minneapolis, the auto workers in Toledo, the street-car men in Milwaukee, have in each case directly involved only a few thousand workers, nevertheless, these strikes became the center of the entire labor movement. They received the loyal support, not only of organized labor, but of all workers. This working class solidarity actually developed into general strikes wherever they were not betrayed by the leaders of the A. F. of L., such as the contemplated general strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and Milwaukee, and the one general strike which the leaders could not prevent in San Francisco.

These general strikes have actually driven fear into the hearts of the ruling class. "Perhaps the fact that has been most disconcerting to high officials here", writes the Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* on July 22, "is that it has been found to bring about use of the general strike as a weapon against employing interests instead of relying on the machinery which Congress has put into the hands of the President through the National Recovery Act and other legislation".

The heroism, self sacrifice and enthusiasm that the working masses have demonstrated in these strikes are unsurpassed in the history of this country. Only when the Vandeleurs and his kind saw that the workers would strike despite their treachery, did they endorse the general strike in order to place themselves at the head of it for the purpose of effecting its betrayal.

GROWING POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE STRIKE STRUGGLES

The Central Committee of the Communist Party recently stated that the present strikes show "symptoms of the growing political character of the present strike wave, and emphasize the increasing

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tendencies to develop into struggles against the capitalist system". Even the American bourgeoisie is forced to recognize this. The previously-mentioned Professor Herman Feldman stated that "in the disputes characterizing the past year, political issues predominated". In what form are these symptoms of the growing political character of the strikes expressed?

The revolutionary essence of the economic struggles of the American workers, today, consists in this, that the struggle for the most modest living demands of the working masses is incompatible with the existence of capitalist society and that a general struggle for these demands becomes a struggle against capitalism. The strikes today are characterized by the fact that every attempt of the working masses to improve their living conditions meets with the most stubborn resistance, not only of the exploiters directly involved, but of the entire capitalist class and its State apparatus.

As a result of the merger of monopoly capitalism and the State machine, every struggle of the workers to raise their living standards is a struggle against the very foundations of the capitalist system and against the capitalist government. Of course this is not a new development. But the capitalist government has never acted so brazenly as strikebreaker as it does today under the N.R.A. Under the N.R.A. every more or less important action of the proletariat becomes transformed into an action against the State power, that is, into a political action.

The growing political character of the present economic struggles is also determined by the utilization by the American bourgeoisie of fascist methods of repression of the working class. In the field of the economic struggles these fascist acts express themselves, first, in depriving the workers of their right to organize in their own class trade unions and to strike; secondly, in forcing upon the workers compulsory government arbitration; and thirdly, in resorting to open terror against the workers.

Under these conditions the working class is faced with the task of uniting its everyday struggles with the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. In this period the revolutionary leadership of the Communists in the organization of the workers' struggle for partial demands must be carried on as an integral part of struggle for Soviet Power.

It becomes ever more evident to the most backward workers that in this present period there is no such thing as pure and simple economic struggles of concern to the trade unions only and from which politics must be kept out. The Communists, of course, do not artificially inject political slogans into the economic struggles of the workers. The political slogans and demands arise out of the

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very nature of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists. And only when economic struggles are associated with political struggles, can the workers achieve lasting improvement in their economic conditions. As far back as 1906 the Russian Bolsheviks began to train the working class to learn that "economic struggles can bring lasting improvements in the conditions of the working masses and strengthen their real class organizations only under the conditions of a correct association to the political struggles of the proletariat".

It is very important to note that in the recent and present strikes one of the major demands of the workers is for the right to organize into trade unions of their own choice and for recognition of these unions by the bosses. In some strikes this is even made the chief demand; and while the workers have sometimes been ready to compromise on their wage demands, they have stubbornly defended the rights of their organization.

THE A. F. OF L. LEADERSHIP—ARCH-ENEMY OF THE WORKERS

The recent strikes and the general strike in San Francisco have again demonstrated even to the most backward workers the strikebreaking role of the A. F. of L. leaders. Nothing bears out so much the correctness of the Communist Party analysis of the role of social-fascism as the "main social support for the bourgeoisie in the maintenance of capitalist rule" as do the recent strikes. It is essential to note that wherever an organized revolutionary opposition inside the A. F. of L. is established, forcing the development of struggle in spite of the sabotage by the leaders, these leaders formally endorse the struggle in order to gain the leadership and later betray the struggle. This is what happened in the San Francisco general strike.

The betrayal of the strike by Vandeleur and the other A. F. of L. strikebreaking leaders was deliberate and openly planned. *The New York Times* wrote on July 19, as follows: "The N.R.A. Administrator [Johnson] found that all the conservative leaders had been opposed to the whole idea of the general strike from the beginning and were anxious to extricate themselves from it now". The manner in which the general strike was betrayed is well known.

The responsibility for this treachery rests not only with the local A. F. of L. leaders. The chief of the strikebreaking campaign was William Green himself. On the second day of the general strike Green issued a statement declaring that "the strike in San Francisco is local in character, possessing no national significance. . . . The American Federation of Labor neither endorsed the strike nor

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authorized it". This strikebreaking statement in effect endorsed the fascist onslaught of the city, State and federal government upon the strikers, the organized vigilante raids upon revolutionary workers' organizations.

Remarkable are the lessons Green drew from the strike after it was broken. In a post-strike statement Green said, "They [the workers of San Francisco] made a grave mistake when they engaged in a sympathetic strike". In other words, the strike of the longshoremen was of no concern to the rest of the San Francisco workers. They had no business to help the longshoremen to win their right to organize, to defend not only their own unions but the existence of all trade unions on the West Coast. Who else but a strikebreaker could talk that way? Green tried to justify his strikebreaking on the grounds that "such action calls for the violation of contracts arrived at through collective bargaining, and involves the possibility of losing all the economic gains they [the workers] may have secured through years of sacrifice and effort".

The arch strikebreaker refused to understand that the San Francisco workers came out in general strike not because of sentimental sympathy with the longshoremen but because they saw their own interests involved in this maritime strike. It was precisely in order to stop the general offensive of the bosses on the West Coast and to protect their rights and interests that the San Francisco workers came out in a general strike, as the workers in other cities were ready to do, if they had not been sabotaged by the A. F. of L. leaders.

What the strikebreaking A. F. of L. leaders failed to see involved in the longshoremen's strike, the bosses and the government saw very clearly.

> "In well informed Federal circles", writes *The New York Times* of July 17, "the main issue is seen as having transcended the original dispute between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Waterfront Employers Association, into a bitter struggle between virtually all organized labor here and the powerful local industrial association, as to whether San Francisco is to become a 'closed shop' city."

The real reasons for Green's strikebreaking are quite different. Green said the workers have no right to resist the bosses' attack. The workers dare not resist the government that deprives them of the right to strike, "because the government must be supreme, it is compelled to bring all its resources into action". Here we have Green's complete vindication and support of the government's strikebreaking.

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The labor lieutenants of American capitalism are jubilant over the defeat of the general strike. They believe that they have now delivered a death blow to the revolutionary leadership of the workers. They hope that with the defeat of the general strike they will wipe out all revolutionary opposition inside the A. F. of L. "As one good pal to another, wish I were with you", wired Ryan, president of the I.L.A., to Mayor Rossi after the great betrayal, "It will all come out all right".

But the more serious of the American bourgeoisie are not so certain of their victory. "There is being written these days a new chapter in labor history", writes Professor Feldman. The capitalist class feels that its temporary victory in San Francisco may have far-reaching political effects upon the working class. "They [the capitalists] fear", writes Turner Catledge from Washington to *The New York Times*, "lest labor be driven into such close cohesion as to make the workers of the country too class conscious." Nothing is more threatening to bourgeois class rule than a class-conscious proletariat. The bourgeoisie views with great alarm the changes that are now taking place in the working class and in its methods of struggle. This same Catledge writes that, "One of the most troublesome factors in the present crisis . . . is the new and obnoxious crudeness that has crept into labor and capital relations especially on the part of labor". The American bourgeoisie does not entirely agree with Ryan that "it will all come out all right". They have seen this same Ryan repudiated by his own membership.

Catledge also reports "there is a prevalent opinion here [in Washington] that the cruder and more radical element will continue to be a dominant factor in labor relations in probably an increasing degree". The American bourgeoisie recognizes that the mere defeat of the San Francisco general strike will not force the rank and file A. F. of L. membership, particularly the new members, to stand idly by while they are being betrayed by the A. F. of L. leaders. Moreover, this great betrayal is teaching the workers the need of independent revolutionary leadership to replace the misleaders if they are to be victorious in their struggles.

THE GROWING FASCIZATION OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

The San Francisco general strike has served to demonstrate that "American capitalism is more and more fascizing its rule" (Resolution of the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.). In San Francisco the struggle was waged not only between the workers and shipowners but between the workers and the entire capitalist class and the capitalist State. It couldn't be otherwise, because the

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interests of the capitalist class that were at stake in this strike were far too fundamental to be of concern only to the shipowners, or even only to capitalism on the West Coast. The strike touched the very vitals of American capitalism. In the first place, the interlocking of the merchant marine with finance capital is so close that a strike in the shipping industry immediately involved American capitalism as a whole. For this reason the American bourgeoisie rebuked Green for his statement that "the strike in San Francisco is local in character possessing no national significance". To this statement *The New York Times* replied editorially on July 16, "whatever it be called, it is a trouble and a threat that cannot be localized".

The mere fact that the strike took place in the most strategic war industry—marine transport—particularly on the Pacific and at a time of feverish war preparations, is sufficient to understand why this strike became a struggle between the workers and the entire capitalist class. This also explains why the strikebreaking directorate included such high government officials as General Johnson, Senator Wagner, Postmaster General Farley, Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady, etc.

The Hearst press issued a general mobilization call to American capitalism to break the strike. "Private pursuits must be laid aside and the most experienced and efficient men in the community must dedicate their abilities to its service and to its rescue from this all-embracing threat", said an editorial in the *New York American* on July 15.

To establish a basis for rallying, not only the big bourgeoisie, but also the middle class and property owners to break the strike, the bourgeoisie declared the general strike to be "not a strike but a revolution".

The other feature of the general strike where the growing fascization of American capitalism was demonstrated was the fact that in the course of the strike the American bourgeoisie did not hesitate to discard all semblances of democracy and establish virtual military dictatorship. The major aim of fascism, as evidenced in other countries, is the destruction of working class organizations, particularly the Communist Party. On this point there was complete unanimity of all organs of American capitalism, beginning with the most outspoken reactionaries and ending with the most "Left" liberals. Not only did the Western capitalist press call upon the government to "put down the revolt with any force necessary" (*Los Angeles Times*), but so did *The New York Times*: "So far as this [military terror and vigilante raids] merely takes the form of supporting the Mayor and upholding the hands of the

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police and the state militia, nothing need be said against it". (Editorial in *The New York Times*, July 23.)

Likewise has the liberal bourgeoisie shown its true colors as it always does when class lines become sharply drawn. On July 25 *The Nation* declared editorially "it is obviously the duty of any government to preserve order and to suppress rioting". Of course, the government strike-breaking and terror was carried on in the name of "preserving law and order", to which *The Nation* gives its heartiest approval.

The third feature of the growing fascization of the American bourgeoisie, as demonstrated by its role in the general strike, is the determined effort of the government to illegalize strikes and force government arbitration upon the workers. It was no shyster politician but the administrator of the N.R.A. himself, General Johnson, who declared that general strikes were "not a proper weapon and will not be tolerated". It is the consistent policy of the Roosevelt administration to build up authoritative organs of compulsory government arbitration. Already the *New York Herald Tribune* informs the American workers that "the next session of Congress undoubtedly will see efforts to strengthen legislation for the settlement of disputes between labor and industry". Some of the capitalist papers are calling for the passage of an American Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Act similar to the one passed in England after the general strike.

In summarizing our preliminary lessons of the present strikes, particularly the San Francisco general strike, we note:

First, the higher forms of class action developed by the American proletariat, such as mass strikes, which set in motion masses of workers not directly involved in the strike and the development of the general strike. Secondly, the growing political features of the strike struggles when the struggle for the most modest demands of the workers becomes the struggle directed against the capitalist State. Thirdly, the ever greater strikebreaking role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy whom the American bourgeoisie places at the head of struggles, when such cannot be averted, in order to betray the workers. Fourthly, the rapid fascization of the rule of American capitalism.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

It is unavoidable in any serious analysis of the present strikes, particularly the San Francisco general strike, to include the role played by the Socialist Party in these strikes. What has the Socialist Party done for the general strike? The Detroit Convention of the S. P. unanimously endorsed the A. F. of L. and all its strike-

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breaking policies. "You must not attack the A. F. of L. leaders, they must be educated", said Benson, one of the "Left" leaders of the Milwaukee delegation at the Convention. The S. P. only further cemented its partnership with the labor misleaders to betray the interests of the working class.

Of course, the S. P. grew "indignant" over the strike-breaking and vigilante raids. It issued a statement of protest. In this statement the S. P. states that the vigilantes were "apparently [!] organized by prominent business men". Its bitterest complaint against the vigilantes' raids on workers' headquarters is that "they have usurped the police powers of the city government in these raids". Well, suppose instead of the vigilantes, dressed in leather coats, raiding workers' headquarters, the workers would have had the "honor" of the police doing the job, what difference would it have made? And don't the S. P. leaders know that the vigilantes were organized by the police and worked under police protection? In the face of such concerted assaults by the enemies upon the general strike, Norman Thomas found it necessary to declare in the *New Leader* of July 21 that "it [the general strike] is like many of our social weapons, somewhat clumsy".

But these are not the only sins of the S. P. in the present strike struggles of the American workers. The victory of the workers against fascist reaction, the victory of the right to join unions and preserve their working class organizations, demands, as at no other time, united action. The Communist Party within the last few weeks has repeatedly proposed to the Socialist Party and its new "Left" leadership to join in a united front. The Socialist Party has not even replied to the proposals of the Communist Party, despite the clearly felt desire of the S. P. rank and file for common action with the Communist workers.

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party played a very important role, first in the development of the maritime strike and in calling the general strike in San Francisco. The Communist Party was very instrumental in preventing the early sellout of the longshoremen through the June 5 agreement between Mayor Rossi, Ryan and the ship owners. The Communist Party developed a revolutionary opposition in the I.L.A., which soon established its influence over the majority of the workers. With great regret the capitalist press bemoaned the fact that "radical ringleaders, trained in the technique of revolution, have captured the imagination of much of the membership".

The capitalists recognized that in order to break the strike they had to separate the masses from their revolutionary vanguard. This

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explains the brutality with which the police is now hunting Communists in an effort to destroy the Communist Party on the West Coast.

The role of the Communist Party in the maritime strike and in the general strike in San Francisco raises before our Party a number of very vital problems. The Party will utilize the lessons from these gigantic class battles to carry out the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., namely that "of tightening up the *discipline and fighting fitness* of every Party organization and of every member of the Party".

The role of the Communist Party in the strike struggles on the West Coast shows that our Party organization began to apply successfully the resolutions of the Eighth Convention and the Open Letter, serving as an example for the entire Party. The Party organization on the West Coast was not performing miracles. It took seriously the decisions and resolutions of the Party and, in the main, applied them correctly. The California District of the Party began energetically to execute the policy of concentration on strategic places of decisive industries, and developed revolutionary mass work inside the A. F. of L., not in words but in deeds.

The California District has demonstrated in practice that it is possible to involve the A. F. of L. membership in strike struggles, though their unions are under the control of the reactionary leaders. The California District has shown that the Party can establish its ideological leadership over the A. F. of L. members in spite of their leaders. What is necessary is energetic and correct execution of the Party policy of work inside the A. F. of L. which today becomes the major task in our trade union work in all decisive basic industries.

The maritime strike has shown that revolutionary leadership in the A. F. of L. unions is established not through compromise and legalistic illusions but through relentless struggle against the misleaders and the establishment of independent leadership of the economic struggles of the workers. It is highly essential to examine in the entire Party if every member understands why and how to work inside the A. F. of L.

It is very instructive to compare the role of the Party in the struggle in Toledo and in San Francisco. In Toledo the Party tried to influence the course of the strike from the outside. In Toledo the Party was not amongst the workers; it was isolated from them and their organizations. In Toledo the workers did not see the Party personified by the action of Communists in their own ranks. In San Francisco it was different. There the Communists were in the struggle and in the workers' organizations. There they

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were not "outsiders" who came to offer their services and good counsel to the workers, but actual leaders of the workers whom the workers knew and trusted and whom the fakers could not eliminate because the workers were ready to defend them. This is the outstanding lesson for the entire Party to learn.

The maritime strike and the San Francisco general strike raise, of course, a number of other very important problems. They raise, for instance, the problem of the preservation and the smooth functioning of the Party organization, the ability to adapt the Party, every one of its members, and the efficiency of the Party apparatus, to all conditions. The San Francisco general strike has demonstrated that this is an immediate question. To ignore it means to jeopardize the work of the Party.

The maritime strike as well as all the recent strikes have raised the question of revolutionary work in the armed forces. It is sheer opportunism to relegate this question only to the Y.C.L. It is the most serious work of the entire Communist Party.

The recent strikes and the general strike in San Francisco have written a new chapter in the history of the struggles of the American working class. The American working class has demonstrated its determination to struggle and follow the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The Communist Party alone has proved to be qualified to lead the American workers in the struggle for their everyday needs and for their complete emancipation through the establishment of Soviet Power.

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The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War

RESOLUTION OF A GROUP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

By V. I. LENIN

NOTE: *The Theses on the War were written by Lenin in the early days of September, 1914, and presented by him at a meeting of the group of Bolsheviks living in Berne, Switzerland, by whom they were adopted in full and submitted to the several sections of Bolsheviks abroad as well as for discussion to the Russian organizations, the Russian section of the Central Committee, and the Duma group. The Theses were also discussed in some of the big factories in Petrograd. They were also sent to the Italian Socialist Party, were discussed at the Italo-Swiss Conference at Lugano, September 27, 1914, and were partly embodied in the resolution of that Conference. On November 1, 1914, the draft of the Theses, revised in some points, appeared in the* Sotzial-Demokrat *as the political manifesto of the Central Committee, under the title "The War and Russian Social-Democracy." The Theses are published here in the original form.—Ed.*

1. The European and World War bears the sharp marks of a bourgeois-imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets, for freedom to loot foreign countries, a tendency to put an end to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy within the separate countries, a tendency to fool, to disunite, to slaughter the proletariat of all countries by inflaming the wage slaves of one nation against the wage slaves of the other for the benefit of the bourgeoisie—this is the only real meaning and significance of the war.

2. The conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the most influential party belonging to the Second International (1889-1914), which voted for the military appropriations and which repeated the bourgeois chauvinist phrases of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie, is a direct be-

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trayal of Socialism. Under no circumstances, even assuming the absolute weakness of that party and the necessity of its submitting to the will of the bourgeois majority of the nation, can the conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party be justified. This party has in fact adopted a national-liberal policy.

3. The same condemnation is deserved by the conduct of the leaders of the Belgian and French Social-Democratic parties, who have betrayed Socialism by entering bourgeois cabinets.

4. The betrayal of Socialism by a majority of the leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political collapse of that International. The fundamental reason for this collapse is the actual prevalence in it of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois nature and the danger of which have long been pointed out by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The opportunists had long been preparing the collapse of the Second International by renouncing the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by rejecting the class struggle, which at certain moments necessarily turns into civil war, and preaching instead the collaboration of classes; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism and defense of the fatherland, under the cloak of patriotism, and rejecting the elementary truth of Socialism, expressed long ago in *The Communist Manifesto*, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental philistine point of view instead of recognizing the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeois of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessity of utilizing bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality, forgetting that in times of crisis illegal forms of organization and propaganda are imperative. One of the organs of international opportunism, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (*Socialist Monthly*), which has long moved to the national-liberal position, is consistent when it celebrates its victory over European Socialism. The so-called center of German Social-Democracy and of other Social-Democratic parties has in reality faint-heartedly capitulated before the opportunists. It must be the task of the future International resolutely and irrevocably to free itself of this bourgeois trend in Socialism.

5. Of the bourgeois and chauvinist sophisms by which the bourgeois parties and the governments of the two chief rival nations of the continent, the German and the French, are fooling the masses most effectively, and which are being slavishly repeated by both the open and covert Socialist opportunists who are trailing at the tail end of the bourgeoisie, one must particularly note and brand the following. When the German bourgeois refer to the defense of the father-

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land, to the struggle against tsarism, to the fight for the freedom of cultural and national development, they lie, because Prussian Junkerdom with Wilhelm II at its head, and the big bourgeoisie of Germany, have always pursued a policy of defending the tsarist monarchy and, whatever the outcome of the war, they will not fail to direct their efforts towards its support; they lie because, in reality, the Austrian bourgeoisie has undertaken a predatory campaign against Serbia, the German bourgeoisie oppresses Danes, Poles, and Frenchmen (in Alsace-Lorraine); it leads an aggressive war against Belgium and France for the sake of looting the richer and freer countries; it organized an offensive at a moment which seemed most favorable for utilizing its latest improvements in military technique and on the eve of the introduction in Russia of the so-called great military program. Similarly, when the French bourgeois refer to the defense of the fatherland, etc., they lie, because in reality they defend countries that are backward in capitalist technique and that develop more slowly, and because they hire for their billions the Black Hundred gangs of Russian tsarism for an aggressive war whose aim it is to loot Austrian and German lands. Neither of the two belligerent groups of nations is behind the other as far as cruelty and barbarism in war methods are concerned.

6. It is the task of the Social-Democracy of Russia in the first place and with particular emphasis to conduct a merciless and ruthless struggle against Great-Russian and tsarist-monarchist chauvinism, and against the sophisms advanced by the Russian liberals, Constitutional-Democrats, a section of the Narodniks and other bourgeois parties, for the defense of that chauvinism. From the point of view of the working class and the laboring masses of all the peoples of Russia, by far the lesser evil would be the defeat of the Tsar's armies and the Tsar's monarchy, which oppresses Poland, the Ukraine, and a number of other peoples of Russia, and which inflames national hatred in order to increase the pressure of Great-Russia over the other nationalities and in order to strengthen the reaction of the barbarous government of the Tsar's monarchy.

7. The slogans of Social-Democracy must now be: First, an all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country; recognition of the urgent necessity of organizing illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception. Against the lead-

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ers of the present International who have betrayed Socialism, it is imperative to appeal to the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses who bear the brunt of the war and are in most cases hostile to chauvinism and opportunism. Secondly (as one of the immediate slogans), propaganda in favor of republics in Germany, Poland, Russia, and other countries and in favor of transforming all the separate states of Europe into united republican states of Europe. Thirdly and particularly, struggle against the tsarist monarchy and the Great-Russian, Pan-Slavist chauvinism, and advocacy of a revolution in Russia as well as of the liberation and self-determination of the nationalities oppressed by Russia, coupled with the immediate slogans of a democratic republic, the confiscation of the landowners' lands and an eight-hour work-day.

GROUP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, MEMBERS OF THE
RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY

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For a Bolshevik Anti-War Struggle

By ALEX BITTELMAN

"The international situation bears all the features of a new world war." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

IN THE twenty years after the outbreak of the first world imperialist war, capitalism has brought humanity to the threshhold of a new world war. In the war of 1914-1918, the American bourgeoisie, under Wilson, resorted to the swindle of "the war to end war", war "to make the world safe for democracy". For this gigantic fraud and crime, the Second International, the Socialist Parties and the reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. hailed Wilson as a new Messiah that would lead the world out of the wilderness of war and oppression. Only the Bolsheviks pointed out the imperialist nature of the first world war; only *they* mobilized the masses to fight against it by transforming it into civil war against capitalism, the U.S.S.R. being the undying monument of the Bolsheviks' success and their loyalty to proletarian internationalism. In the United States, as in the rest of the world, it was only the extreme Left Wing of the Second International, led by the Bolsheviks, that was waging a revolutionary fight against the first world imperialist war. It was the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America, headed by Charles E. Ruthenberg, the group that later founded the Communist Party of this country, that salvaged the grain of proletarian internationalism out of the semi-pacifist and semi-opportunist St. Louis anti-war resolution (and even this was brazenly betrayed by the official S.P. leadership), undertaking to mobilize the American masses for a revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war. Though weak and inconsistent, because it did not proceed from a complete Bolshevik position, the anti-war struggles led by the Left Wing were the only manifestation of proletarian internationalism in the United States.

WAR IN THE MAKING

The whole capitalist world is intensively preparing for war. Nothing shows this better than the feverish race in armaments in all imperialist countries, the search for regroupings and war alliances,

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the rapid fascization of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agency. "The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious Socialism." (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.) Only one country in the whole world, the U.S.S.R., the country where the working class rules, consistently fights for peace.

It is already fully obvious that the Geneva Conference of the League of Nations has suffered a complete collapse as a conference for *disarmament.* And whose responsibility is that? It is the responsibility of the entire capitalist world which does not want to disarm or reduce armaments, but on the contrary is feverishly arming for war. Most especially must the responsibility be placed squarely at the door of the military-fascist clique of Japan that is waging a brigand war against the Chinese people and is preparing for war against the Soviet Union; the fascist murderers of Germany who are likewise preparing for this counter-revolutionary war, exchanging signals with their Japanese friends; the criminal war incendiaries of England who lead the sabotage of the peace proposals of the Soviet Union; the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital in the United States and in all other imperialist countries.

THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

It is necessary to recall that it was the Soviet Union which, in pursuance of its consistent and proletarian peace policy, had repeatedly challenged the capitalist world to make good its demagogic talk and—disarm. At the very beginning of the Disarmament Conference meetings in Geneva, Comrade Litvinov proposed a plan for total and complete disarmament. This was not accepted. The Soviet Union then proposed a plan for partial disarmament, which met the same fate. But these proposals were not in vain. They served to focus the attention of the toiling masses in the capitalist world upon the increasing danger of war manifested in growing armaments and aggravated by it. They served further to demonstrate before the toiling masses of all countries the peace policy of the Land of Socialism in contrast to the imperialist war policies of the lands of capitalism. In this way the repeated disarmament offers of the Soviet Union served to strengthen both the struggle of the Soviet Union for the maintenance of peace and the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggles of the workers and toilers in the capitalist world.

The eve of the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the first world imperialist war is characterized by a most complex and alarming world situation in which the aggressive forces of world

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imperialism are growing, regrouping and placing the question of war on the order of the day. In this situation the Soviet Union has made another effort to retard the outbreak of a new world war. Developing further its policy of concluding non-aggression pacts with its immediate neighbors, the Soviet Union seeks to bind the rest of the capitalist world to similar pacts, and as many of the capitalist countries as can be pressed into mutual assistance pacts, in order to create as many obstacles as possible to the outbreak of a new world war, to retard and delay it as much as possible. With supreme clarity and cogency Comrade Litvinov urged this policy upon the capitalist world at the recent meeting of the General Disarmament Commission in Geneva. His proposal to transform the Disarmament Conference into a Permanent Peace Conference for the prevention and retardation of war, to lay aside for the present the hypocritical talk of the capitalist governments on disarmament, since it had been abundantly proved that none of them thinks of disarming, and to concentrate on binding together for mutual assistance all those States which have cause to fear aggression by others and which, for one reason or another, do not want the outbreak of war at the present time,—these proposals have already served to clarify before the masses the world situation. They threw a glaring light on the war danger spots and on those imperialist forces and States that are pressing hardest at the present time for a new criminal world war, for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The impotently malicious attack of German fascism upon these proposals of the Soviet Union, the similar attitude of the Japanese military-fascist clique, and the opposition of British imperialism spoken in Geneva through Simon, "advocate of German fascism" (*Pravda*), clearly indicate the location of those imperialist forces that are now driving to a new war, to a counter-revolutionary war against the Socialist fatherland of the world proletariat and of all toilers.

It goes without saying that the possibility and effectiveness of the peace policies of the Soviet Union result first and foremost from the gigantically increased strength of the Socialist fatherland, on the one hand, and the growing revolutionary movement of the masses in the capitalist world, on the other. This is fundamental, and it is this growing strength of the Socialist sector of the world that calls forth the increasing hatred of the capitalist world and its provocative maneuvers against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the effectiveness of the Soviet peace policies is made possible also by the sharpening contradictions within the imperialist camp. The sharpening of these imperialist contradictions (French-German, British-U.S.A., U.S.A.-Japanese, the contradictions around Austria and in Southeastern Europe generally, etc.), out of which grows

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the danger of war and of an attack upon the U.S.S.R., has also led to a split in the anti-Soviet camp. Speaking of the line-up in the imperialist camp from the point of view of Litvinov's recent proposals in Geneva, *Pravda* wrote: "There are countries at present in the capitalist world which strive actively towards war and are openly preparing an attack upon the U.S.S.R." Germany and Japan are foremost among these. "There are countries which, though reluctant to be drawn into war themselves but which are in fact paving the way for war, are pushing forward and encouraging the war incendiaries." England is at the head of these, and the most reactionary circles of American monopoly capital incline in the same direction. "And, finally, there are countries which are now not interested in war, would like to avoid it, and therefore are agreed to collaborate with those who are interested in strengthening peace" (*Pravda*, May 31, 1934). Chief among these latter countries are France and the Little Entente.

THE PLACE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE WAR LINE-UP

Where does the government of the United States stand in this line-up? The first thing to take note of is the feverish preparations of American imperialism for war. "It has embarked on a naval race with its main imperialist rivals, Great Britain and Japan. The army has been further mechanized, and the world's largest air fleet provided for, coast defense has been strengthened, army cantonments throughout the country have been provided; and the C.C.C. has served as a trial mobilization and training ground for a great army, both for imperialist war and for civil war against the workers at home, as openly admitted by Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of War, Woodring" (Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.). Neither the pacifist demagogy of the Roosevelt government nor its empty talk of the "good neighbor" can hide the fact that the struggle of American imperialism against its chief imperialist rival, Great Britain, has sharpened and continues to sharpen all along the line, and that the U.S.A.-Japan imperialist contradictions are becoming more acute, especially in China but also beginning to develop in South America. The outstanding fact is that, behind the brazen peace-demagogy of the New Deal, Yankee imperialism is intensively preparing for war to secure world hegemony against British imperialism and to settle accounts with Japanese imperialism. More than ever it is becoming clear that the Roosevelt New Deal, hailed by the Socialist Party as "a step to socialism" and by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as "a genuine partnership of labor and capital", is a weapon for a more rapid fascization of the rule of the U.S. bourgeoisie and for imperialist war preparations.

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The New Deal had recognized the Soviet Union because, in the face of the tremendous power and international significance of the latter due to the historic successes of Socialist construction and the consequent rise of the sympathies and support of the American masses for the Soviet Union and its peace policies, any other policy would be utterly ridiculous and harmful for American imperialism itself. It is hardly necessary to prove that the class antagonism between the Socialism of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalism of the U.S.A. has not been in the least weakened by this recognition but, on the contrary, is increasing and bound to increase with the growing successes of the Socialist world and the deepening general crisis of the capitalist world. But can it be said that at this *present historical conjuncture* American imperialism belongs to those countries in the imperialist line-up that agree to collaborate for the strengthening of peace? No, there are no signs of that. "While extending recognition to the U.S.S.R., United States imperialism continues to furnish munitions and war supplies to Japan, and tries to provoke a war between Japanese imperialism and the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of weakening both its chief imperialist rival in the Pacific, as well as the country of Socialism—the workers' fatherland" (Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.). Is this a sign of a peace policy? No, quite the contrary, it is an act and policy of imperialist war provocation and, more particularly, against the Soviet Union. Or, take the conduct of the U.S. delegation, under Davis (Morgan's messenger boy), at the recent session of the General Disarmament Commission in Geneva. Confronted with the *new methods* for the strengthening of peace and retardation of war, submitted by Comrade Litvinov on behalf of the Soviet Union, and in accord with the dearest wishes of the toiling masses all over the world, on the one hand, and with the opposition to these proposals in the Commission, led by Simon, the spokesman of British imperialism and advocate of German fascism and Japanese military-fascist brigandage, on the other hand, what did Davis and the U.S. delegation do? Did they show any signs of leaning in the direction of those imperialist powers which, like France, etc., show willingness to collaborate with the U.S.S.R. in the strengthening of peace at the present time? No, not at all. Through all the disarmament and peace camouflage of Davis' speeches, he and the U.S. delegation were leaning definitely in the direction of Simon and British imperialism, *i. e.*, in the direction of those imperialist countries which, while reluctant to be drawn into war themselves, are in fact paving the way for war and are encouraging the war incendiaries to go ahead—especially to go ahead against the Soviet Union.

We know, of course, and that must be made very clear to the

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masses, that French imperialism, the watchdog of the Treaty of Versailles, is not one iota better than English or German; that the only reason French imperialism has changed its position from one of chief organizer of the anti-Soviet war to one of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. is because it sees now in the maintenance of peace its chief salvation and because the Soviet Union is the most important factor working for the strengthening of peace. No doubt, French imperialism gains certain advantages from its policy of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R.; but so do we, the world revolutionary movement and the Socialist fatherland. No doubt, postponement of war enables the bourgeoisie of those countries that work for it (France, etc.) to prepare the war better and to push further the process of fascization; but the same postponement enables the Soviet Union to press forward and higher with its Socialist construction and to become *more powerful;* the same postponement of war enables the Communist Parties in the capitalist world to gain time for better preparation of the proletariat for the decisive struggles, and under increasingly favorable objective conditions, since the general crisis of capitalism is increasingly intensifying, the revolutionary crisis is maturing, and the imperialist contradictions are sharpening. "Time is on our side, if only we do not remain passive" (Kuusinen, Report to the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

It goes without saying that if the policy of the Roosevelt government were to veer around to the position of collaborating with the U.S.S.R., for the present historical moment, for the strengthening of peace, as it well may under the impact of the revolutionary anti-war struggle of the masses, and since U.S. imperialism does not yet feel itself prepared for war, this would in no way indicate a turn of U.S. imperialism to a peace policy. It would mean, as it does in the case of French imperialism, a turn to a policy that seeks to gain time for the better preparation for war and for pressing further the fascization of the rule of the American bourgeoisie. And from such an eventuality there is only one conclusion to be drawn for the proletariat of the U.S. and its vanguard, the Communist Party, namely, to utilize the time thus gained from the retardation of war *for more intense mobilization of the forces of the American proletariat and its allies for decisive battles against American capitalism.*

We must never fail to explain and emphasize that a bourgeois policy of maintaining peace *for a given time differs radically and on principle* from the consistent and Bolshevik peace policy of the U.S.S.R. To take an example: the policies of the U.S.S.R. and of the U.S. towards Japan. The U.S.S.R. pursues towards Japan, as towards all other States, a consistent and honest policy of peace. This

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policy arises from and is dictated by the principles of proletarian internationalism upon which the Soviet State rests, principles that are mortally opposed to all kinds of imperialist conquest and oppression, this policy is dictated by the needs of Socialist construction which, again, are of international importance for the toiling masses all over the world; and, finally, this policy serves the interests of the maturing world revolutionary crisis "if only we do not remain passive". The ridiculous assertions of the bourgeoisie and its social-fascist agents led by Trotzkyism, that the Soviet peace policy is dictated by its "weakness", has been exploded conclusively by Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., and this lying assertion has not been much in evidence since. This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has no "quarrels" with the military-fascist clique of Japan. The proletariat and the collective peasants and all toilers of the U.S.S.R. have one big fundamental "quarrel" with Japanese imperialism as one link in the chain of world imperialism: it is the "quarrel" between Socialism and capitalism as two rival world systems, between proletariat and capitalists, between national independence and foreign imperialist domination. It is the class struggle on the international arena. This struggle the U.S.S.R. seeks neither to bridge nor conciliate, but, on the contrary, it seeks the solution of this struggle, together with the proletariat and its allies in the capitalist world, in the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, in the victory of the world revolution. It is precisely for this reason that Japanese imperialism, and world imperialism, seek the destruction of the U.S.S.R. Hence the revolutionary policy of defense of the Socialist fatherland.

THE BRAZEN "PEACE" DEMAGOGY OF IMPERIALISM IN CONTRAST TO THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST PEACE POLICY OF THE U.S.S.R.

On the other hand—the "peace" policy of Yankee imperialism towards Japan. Can it hide the imperialist ambitions of American capitalism in China? Can it hide the determination of Yankee imperialism to secure mastery of the Pacific? These are the "quarrels" of U.S. imperialism with Japanese imperialism. And what is their nature? They are not class quarrels but imperialist quarrels, they are the rivalries of two imperialist brigands over the dismemberment and rape of China, over the robbery and exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific regions. And how can this "quarrel" be solved? Capitalism, and imperialism especially, knows only one way—imperialist war. And this is what U.S. imperialism (and Japanese) is preparing for. Consequently, the "peace" policy of Yankee imperialism to-

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wards Japan is not a peace policy at all; it is thoroughly hypocritical and dishonest. Treaties, pacts and agreements between these two imperialist brigands may be negotiated and even concluded as long as both continue to feel unprepared for the final showdown; but all the while, both are feverishly preparing for it as the only solution of their contradictions.

Thus we see the fundamental difference between the Bolshevik peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the hypocritical playing-around-with-peace policies of the U.S. The former follows from the proletarian internationalism of the growing Socialist system, based on the power of the U.S.S.R. and the anti-war struggles of the toiling masses in the capitalist world, as well as upon the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist powers; the latter follows from the decaying capitalist system and the sharpening inner and outer contradictions of U.S. imperialism. The former seeks to retard the outbreak of war for the sake of the growing Socialism and the maturing world revolutionary crisis; the latter seeks to hide imperialist aggression and war preparations, all the while cultivating the criminal proposition of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

WAR AS THE CAPITALIST WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

"The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). This uncertainty has increased since the Thirteenth Plenum, and also in the U.S. The depression, into which the economic crisis has passed at the expense of the workers, farmers, and the toiling masses of the colonies, has turned out precisely as Stalin has shown, "not an ordinary depression" but a "depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry". The trend of business in the U.S. since the high point of the "recovery" in July, 1933, passed a zigzag course of sporadic ups and downs; and while the downs do not reach the lowest point of March, 1933, neither do the ups tend to come up to the highest point of the depression of July, 1933. Regular employment—especially in capital goods industries—has increased inconsiderably, and the increase that took place was in the main an extension of the "stagger" system, *i.e.*, at the expense of the standard of living of the working class as a whole. The disparity between prices of industrial and agricultural products continues to grow unfavorably to the farmers. The agricultural crisis shows no signs of abating, but, on the contrary, is

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getting worse, through the added factor of the disastrous drought which is netting new profits to the rich farmers, banks and speculators while resulting in the further ruination of masses of toiling farmers. This inevitably narrows down the home market still further and makes the general question of markets even more acute. Hence U.S. imperialism is losing patience and confidence in its ability to find a way out of the crisis except by means of war, for which the New Deal is feverishly preparing.

This is seen in the *increasing aggressiveness* of Yankee imperialism in the struggle for markets and spheres of imperialist exploitation, manifesting itself in all parts of the world, chiefly in conflict with British imperialism. We see it also in the particular stranglehold with which the New Deal is fastening the yoke of Yankee imperialism upon the Caribbean countries (the Yankee imperialist preserve) and the desperate push to the conquest of South America. Let no one be deceived by the good neighborly phrases of the Roosevelt administration. The abrogation of the so-called Platt Amendment for Cuba, forced from Roosevelt by the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in Cuba led by the Communist Party of that land, does not abolish any of the economic, political and military positions of U.S. imperialism in Cuba. Under cover of the "magnanimous gesture" of giving up some of the old formal rights of the Platt Amendment (a gesture also dictated by the fear of the growing anti-Yankee movement in South America), the Roosevelt government is attempting, through its puppet governments (Mendieta, etc.), through economic pressure and through military-naval domination, to fasten Yankee imperialist rule upon the island even more securely than heretofore. This is being done, not only in order to make the sweat and blood of the Cuban toiling masses help solve the crisis of U.S. capitalism, but also to strengthen the position of U.S. imperialism for war. We see these war preparations of Yankee imperialism also in the Philippines where, under cover of demagogic and fraudulent promises of independence, the New Deal seeks especially to destroy the revolutionary organizations of the masses (trade unions, peasant leagues, etc.), and in the first place the Communist Party—the leader of the fight for complete national independence and against imperialist war. We see the war preparations, finally, in the support (financial and military) rendered by Yankee imperialism to Chiang Kai-Shek for the counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese Soviets, admittedly the only force in China capable of unifying the country and strengthening the cause of peace in the Far East and in the whole world.

It would be a grave error to assume that the intensive preparations for war by U.S. imperialism signify in any way a slackening

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of the capitalist offensive upon the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, and the toiling masses generally, at home. This is what the New Deal and its social-fascist apologists would want the masses to believe, namely, that war preparations mean more work, better wages and a better life for everybody. The facts speak louder than words. The New Deal feverishly prepares for war abroad and *at the same time* wages merciless war against the toiling masses at home. Roosevelt and the 73rd Congress have done their utmost to raise the profits and to insure the capital values of the monopolies at the expense of the standard of living of the widest masses of workers and toiling farmers, while perfecting more and new instruments for crippling the fighting ability of the masses and their organizations. Only the most militant struggle against the capitalist offensive and the New Deal of hunger, fascization and war, with the determination manifested by the rank and file in Toledo, Minneapolis, on the Pacific Coast, etc., can expect to cope with the sharpening attacks of the New Deal upon the workers, the toiling farmers, the Negroes and all exploited. What is still lacking to make this new fighting spirit of the masses more effective, to develop it into a wider counter-offensive against the New Deal, is a revolutionary leadership at the head of the masses, more effective revolutionary mass work of the lower organizations of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement.

As the stupefying effects of the New Deal demagogy are beginning to wear off, and the mass actions of the workers assume ever more political consciousness and aggressiveness, the Roosevelt government and its N.R.A. exhibit more and more clearly their character of fascization and war preparation. Force and violence against the fighting masses are increasingly taking first place in the methods of the capitalist offensive. All efforts of the bourgeoisie, its government, and the social-fascists are directed towards preventing and, in fact, outlawing, the organization of the workers into unions free from boss and government control. Supported by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party leadership, the New Deal maneuvers desperately to take away from the workers the right to strike and picket, imposing all sorts of schemes for compulsory mediation and arbitration, all the while resorting to methods of open civil warfare against the strikers who refuse to be "persuaded" into surrender and slavery by the spokesmen of the New Deal and its social-fascist partners. Violence against the Negroes is growing. The ground is being prepared for the outlawing of the Communist Party and all revolutionary mass organizations, the signal for that having been openly given by the Roosevelt administration through its chief "ideologist", professor Moley. The poison gases of chauvinism, na-

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tionalism, and Americanism are being spread widely to enhance the process of fascization and war preparation carried out for monopoly capital by the New Deal. New and more brazen methods of fascist demagogy (Roosevelt's new promises of security and insurance) are being resorted to in order to check the growing disillusionment of the masses and to hide the sharpening capitalist offensive and its war preparations.

OUR SLOGANS FOR AUGUST FIRST

August First must be made a day of widest mass actions of all forms against the New Deal of Hunger, Fascization and War. Consequently, the chief slogans for these mass actions are: "Fight Against Imperialist War and the Counter-Revolutionary War Against the U.S.S.R. Support the Revolutionary Peace Policies of the Soviet Union. For the Defense of the Soviet Union and Soviet China. Further the Militant Struggle Against the Hunger, Fascization and War Measures of the N.R.A. Fight for the Right to Organize, Strike and Picket. Fight Militantly for All Workers' Rights. Not a Cent for Bosses' War, All War Funds for Unemployment Relief and Insurance. For the Immediate Enactment of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill and the Bill for Negro Rights and to Suppress Lynching. Against the Fascization and Militarization of the Youth in the C.C.C. Oust the Army Officers from the C.C.C. Young Workers and Students, White and Negro, Young Socialists and Communists, Unite in Struggle Against Fascism and Imperialist War. Draw the Women into the Anti-War Struggle. Organize Factory and Neighborhood Women's Committees Against War and Fascism. Workers and Farmers, Negro and White, Native and Foreign-Born, Unite in Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Counter-Revolutionary War Against the Soviet Union. Stop the Shipment of Munitions to Japan and Latin America. Halt the Money and Wheat Loans to the Murderous Government of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Flunkey of Imperialism. For the Immediate and Unconditional Independence of All U.S. Colonies and Dependencies. Support the Anti-Imperialist Agrarian Revolution in Cuba. For a United Front From Below Against War and Fascism. Against the Treacherous Socialist Party Leadership, the A. F. of L. Bureaucracy, the Muste Leadership and All "Left" Social-Fascists and Their Renegade Supporters. Support the Courageous Struggle of the German Proletariat and Its Communist Party Against the Fascist Dictatorship and the War Incendiaries. Fight for the Liberation of the Leader of the German Proletariat, Ernst Thaelmann."

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The fight for the freedom of Ernst Thaelmann is an outstanding phase of the anti-war struggle. It is a fight against the chief incendiaries of imperialist war—Hitler fascism—the spearhead of imperialism against the Soviet Union on its western frontier. It is a fight for all the imprisoned anti-fascists in Germany and for the saving of the life of the leader of the only party in Germany—the Communist Party—which is organizing the masses against Fascism and war. Let the present and first crisis of fascist rule in Germany, brought about by the stormy awakening of the masses deceived by it and by the glorious struggle of the Communist Party, serve as an impetus to our fight for the freedom of Thaelmann.

BRING THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE INTO THE BASIC FACTORIES

In organizing the August First mass actions, we must check up on whether or not, and to what extent, we have been carrying out the following most important decision of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

> "In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country at the *vital parts of the war machine of imperialism.*
>
> "In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of *mass action*, preventing the shipment of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organizing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc., and must *intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy.*"

Here we must utilize the experiences of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union movement in the latest national action—May Day—and in the more outstanding subsequent strike movements and struggles. From these we find, as was already pointed out by the Party, that the weakest mass actions on May Day were observed in the centers of the basic industries, this being the result primarily of our "still weak position in the factories and slowness in carrying through the program of concentration" (*The Communist*, June, 1934). Therefore, the question must be raised again: how do we expect to be able to carry on a Bolshevik struggle against war, how do we propose to prevent the shipment of munitions and troops and to hinder the execution of orders for belligerent countries, and, in general, to attack "the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism", with the still existing slowness in the carrying out of the program of concentration? It will do little good merely to repeat that this program must be carried out with infinitely greater speed

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if, at the same time, we take no organizational and political measures *to insure* that this will actually be done. Consequently, it is necessary, not only to clarify more sharply the political importance of the program of concentration, but also to check up the capability and fitness of our cadres in the strategic points of concentration and to make sure that the most proven, experienced and courageous *mass workers and leaders* occupy these positions. In the preparation of the August First anti-war mass actions, such check-up of the cadres and correct placing and concentration of our forces is one of the most important political and organizational tasks. Only this can insure the bringing of the anti-war struggle into the most important factories of the basic industries.

In Toledo, for example, we have had a brilliant demonstration of the growing readiness of the workers to accept our slogans and fight for them militantly, to adopt the methods of mass struggle advocated by our Party and the T.U.U.L. and to welcome the Party's support and leadership. This is an achievement which will not be obscured by any amount of bourgeois "Red scare" tactics and Musteite cowardly slander. But this achievement only brought out in greater relief the fact that the Party and the revolutionary trade union movement were not entrenched in the factories, especially the large ones, and that the building of the revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions was badly neglected, where it was not plainly obstructed. The lesson from this is simple: frequent and systematic check-up of our cadres, elimination of those who are not wholeheartedly for the Party line or are, for any other reason, unfit to win the masses for this line, and the systematic promotion of those who are for the line and able to put it *into effect* among the masses. This lesson must be applied thoroughly in the preparation and organization of the August First anti-war mass actions.

We must also check up, and draw the necessary conclusions from the work of organizing in the factories groups of the American League Against War and Fascism. The work of building up branches of the League in the neighborhoods, and among the non-proletarian masses, is of the highest importance. But the program of concentration demands precisely the giving of the chief attention to the factories, especially those producing ammunition, to the marine workers, railroads, transport generally. No District or Section of the Party that does not provide for the building of factory groups of the League will be in a position to register even moderate advance of the anti-war work now being developed around August First.

It is necessary especially to guard against the conception that such special activities and national actions as Anti-War Day somehow "interfere" with the daily revolutionary activities of the Party among

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the masses. Wild and non-Bolshevik as such a conception is, it still finds place among us. It was one of the factors accounting for the weaknesses of May Day. Such conceptions arise primarily from inability to connect in a Leninist way, both agitationally and organizationally, the economic demands of the masses with the political demands and slogans, the local struggles with their national implications and significance. It is, in other words, the inability to raise correctly the daily struggle of the workers to higher levels; an inability that produces especially bad results when coupled with weak revolutionary mass work in the factories. The fight against the above misconceptions is, therefore, primarily a fight for bringing the anti-war struggle into the factories, a fight for raising the daily struggles of the masses to higher political levels (against war, fascism, the N.R.A., etc.), always "taking as a starting point the defense of the *everyday* economic and political interests of the toilers" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.).

Learning from our May Day (and other) experiences, we must draw the Negro masses into the anti-war struggles more effectively than heretofore. The Party's influence among the Negro masses is high and rising. Our Negro program and our historic leadership in the Scottsboro fight are primarily responsible for that. But "they do not see that in the factories, in the trade unions, and among the unemployed, we take up sufficiently the fight for their needs. . . . We have not yet reached the masses of the Negro workers with the Left-wing organizations" (*The Communist*, June, 1934). The winning of the Negro masses for the anti-war struggle, especially the Negro proletariat in the large and basic enterprises and the Negro farmers, is an outstanding task of the August First action.

A determined effort must also be made to bring the toiling farmers (particularly the youth) into the anti-war struggle. The general radicalization of the toiling farmers, the spread of the Party's influence among them, create favorable conditions for our anti-war program among the toilers of the countryside.

The building of the Party, with especial emphasis on organization in the shops, and of the revolutionary trade union movement, is an organic part of the August First action. No advances in the field of anti-war struggle, as in all other, can be considered real and lasting, if they are not crystallized in growth of Party membership, new nuclei, the growth and strengthening of old ones, the building of T.U.U.L. groups, the building of oppositions in the reformist unions, and the building of the Party press, especially the *Daily Worker*. Organizational results and the building of *Daily Worker* circulation—these must be placed in the forefront of our August First preparations.

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FOR THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM— FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-FASCISM

It is beyond dispute that our fight for the united front from below is making headway. We see it in the American League Against War and Fascism. We see it in the strikes and strike movements (West Coast, Toledo, steel, etc.). But we are still just at the beginning. We are still suffering from a certain fear to step boldly into the masses of non-Party as well as Socialist workers, to fight and win them for the united front from below; we also suffer from the tendency to "top-combinations" as a substitute for the united front from below and for a merciless struggle against social-fascism of all colors and hues.

The tremendous impetus given to our struggle for the united front by the Austrian and French events, by the glorious conduct of the Communist, Dimitroff, at the Leipzig trial, by the courageous revolutionary fight against Hitler fascism of our German brother Party under Thaelmann, and, on the other hand, by the black treacheries of social-democracy,—this impetus to our united front has forced the Socialist Party of America to bring forward its "Lefts" in order to check the drift to the united front and to Communism. Obviously, Panken, Oneal and Abe Cahan would not do *as the face* of the Socialist Party in this situation of growing radicalization; some less compromised social-fascists are necessary to keep the workers from Communism, that is, social-fascists who are able to play skilfully with revolutionary phrases and thus continue to deceive the workers among whom the "old guard" can no longer show their faces. The mushroom growth of "Left" social-fascism (Muste & Co., the new leadership of the S.P., etc) confirms the rapid trend of the masses in our direction, which the American bourgeoisie expects to check with the help of its "Left" social-fascist agents; it also shows the growing disintegration of social-fascism. Our answer to this is: a bolder fight among the widest masses for the united front from below and merciless struggle against social-fascism of all varieties, especially the "Lefts".

The "new" Thomas leadership of the S.P. to which the "Revolutionary" Policy Committee has abjectly capitulated, promises that "they will meet war . . . by massed war resistance organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions . . . and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism" (Declaration of Principles of Detroit Convention of the S.P.). Sounds very revolutionary. But, to begin with, let us recall the fate of the famous anti-war resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of the pre-war Second International. Thanks to amendments of Lenin and Luxemburg,

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that resolution contained some very definite and binding revolutionary anti-war obligations for the Socialist Parties. But none of these parties, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, waged a revolutionary anti-war struggle *prior to* the outbreak of the war, because they were eaten up with opportunism and class collaboration. Inevitably, these parties, upon the outbreak of war, continuing their class collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie, *betrayed the obligations assumed under the Stuttgart resolution.* The Thomas "Left" leadership purposes to repeat the same crime, with this important addition, that, through S.P. support of the New Deal, the "Militants" are *already* assisting U.S. imperialism to prepare for war and for the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Let us also recall the fate of the St. Louis anti-war resolution of the Socialist Party. Again thanks to the pressure of the Left Wing, that resolution contained some few, but definite, revolutionary anti-war obligations. But these were flagrantly betrayed by the official leadership of the Socialist Party. Now, seeing the growth of anti-war feelings among the masses and the headway of the Communist struggle for a united front against war and fascism, the S.P. puts forward its "Left" face, makes revolutionary promises, in order to hamper the struggle of the masses *today and every day* for the *retardation* of war, in order to obstruct the Bolshevik struggle *against war preparations* which alone can lay the basis for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

Thomas and Co. promise "to meet" the coming war with a general strike, but . . . there are two significant qualifications: (1) "as far as practicable", and this will be decided by the well-known "revolutionary firm" of Thomas and Co.; (2) even if practicable, the general strike must be one of "labor unions" which, knowing the collaboration of the S.P., and also its new leadership, with the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., means a general strike against war *with the permission of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.* Can there be anything more brazenly fraudulent than this?

But there are some more questions which we must put to the S.P. membership and the workers in general. Thomas promises a fight against war, but he (the S.P.) offers no real program of struggle against the war-making machinery of the N.R.A. and the New Deal. What is the conclusion from that? Thomas wants the workers to believe that the S.P. is becoming a party of proletarian internationalism and anti-war struggle; but he and the S.P. continue to sabotage and combat and vilify the American League Against War and Fascism which is the only united front organization earnestly striving to mobilize the masses to fight against war. What is the name for such activities? Thomas promises (the Declaration

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of Principles) that "they will unitedly seek to develop trustworthy instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts". As it stands, it is fraudulent bourgeois pacifism because it wants to deceive the workers into believing that imperialist war can be abolished just by "seeking to develop" instruments of peace. However, we must ask this: if you, gentlemen of the "new" S.P. leadership, are so much interested in the maintenance of peace, why do you keep quiet about the proletarian peace policies of the U.S.S.R.? Why did you not endorse and support these peace policies which, based as they are upon the tremendous power of a Socialist State of 170 million people, supported by millions upon millions of toilers in the capitalist world, constitute one of the most powerful factors for the maintenance of peace? Who will believe that Thomas and Co. are "seeking peace" *even in the sense* in which certain bourgeois governments are "seeking peace" at the present time (the French, for example), when this "Left" S.P. leadership did not even find it necessary to endorse the peace struggles of the U.S.S.R.? No one in his senses can believe a word of these promises. The S.P. and its new leadership take the same position in the present international situation (eve of war) as the United States Department of State, as Roosevelt, as Yankee imperialism. And this is seen nowhere as clearly as in the attitude of both to the struggle of the U.S.S.R. for the retardation of war. Both sabotage and obstruct the peace policies of the Socialist Fatherland. In the face of these indisputable facts, can there be any other name for the S.P. new "Declaration of Principles", and for the Thomas-R.P.C. leadership, but fraud and deceit? The S.P. collaboration with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, reaffirmed at the Detroit convention in the face of the rapid fascization of this bureaucracy, is additional proof of the fascization (and disintegration) of the S.P., its more intense participation in the war preparations, and for the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., only covered by a "new" leadership and new "Left" maneuvers.

We must go to the widest masses of workers, farmers, and Negroes with our Bolshevik anti-war policies and program, exposing mercilessly the counter-revolutionary position of social-fascism. We must build tirelessly the united front from below against the New Deal program of War, Hunger and Fascization.

* * *

"The great historical task of international Communism is *to mobilize the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism.* Only a Bolshevik

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struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war" (Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). To enhance, deepen and widen the Bolshevik struggle against war is the special task of the August First action. In this struggle, we frankly seek and work for the triumph of the proletarian revolution in the United States and the establishment of a Soviet government in this country.

A Soviet government in the United States would signify the beginning of the end of world capitalism. It would signify the beginning of the end of imperialist war danger and imperialist war.

A Soviet government in the United States would at once set free all the nations and countries now oppressed and dependent on Yankee imperialism, in the Black Belt of the South (the Negroes), in the Caribbean, South America, the Philippines, China, etc., thus gaining the powerful support of millions of toilers for its proletarian internationalism and peace policies.

A Soviet government in the United States, following the example of the first Soviet Republic, would make it clear to the whole world that it breaks fundamentally and forever with the imperialist policies and territorial aggrandizement of the overthrown bourgeoisie, abrogating all imperialist privileges enjoyed now by this bourgeoisie. At the same time the Soviet Government of the United States would organize all the forces of the country for the defense of the Soviet Power against imperialist intervention. For then, and only then, for the first time in the history of this country, will the United States have become a fatherland for the proletariat and all toilers.

A Soviet government in the United States, joined in fraternal alliance with the U.S.S.R. and actively supported by the toiling masses of all the remaining capitalist countries, would constitute such an impregnable power that the last dying efforts of imperialism to provoke war would be rapidly liquidated, together with the remaining capitalist governments; and the World Soviet Republic, building a world Socialist economy, would soon become a reality.

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The Bloody 30th of June in Germany

ON JUNE 30 Hitler realized his "People's Commonalty". He caused his closest comrades and veterans to be executed. On June 30 he let loose civil war in the most brutal, bestial and treacherous fashion against his own mass organizations. He also gave an example of national-socialist "comradeship" by letting loose one section of his party to crush and slaughter the other. He carried the national-socialist principle of "loyalty for loyalty" to its logical end in the spirit of real "front-line patriotism" by causing Roehm, Heines, Ernst and the other leaders of the Brown Storm Troops (S.A.) to be killed by his own black-uniformed Special Guards (S.S.)

The "Leader principle" was also realized. The subordinate leaders wanted to overthrow their "Leader", and the "Leader" reviled and besmirched even the dead bodies of his old comrades and fighters, the same men who had been put forward as a shining example to the youth as veteran fighters and "supermen". On June 30 Hitler proved the correctness of the national-socialist race theories. Indeed, only amongst the "supermen", only amongst the representatives of the highest "Nordic-Aryan race" could such Sodom and Gomorrah scenes have taken place, such orgies, such gluttony, such perversion, such robbery and such embezzlement of public funds.

On June 30 Hitler also demonstrated to the full the national-socialist idea of "honor". He used provocation, lies and fraud against his own comrades and friends, and he handed them over to the execution squads to be shot down like mad dogs. The "People's Commonalty", honor, loyalty, comradeship, front-line patriotism, heroism, supermen, the purity of public life, the family sense—all these ideals of fascism were revealed in their true colors. And after an orgy of treachery, meanness, lies, bestiality and pervert sadism he presented himself as the "Savior of the Nation", receiving declarations of loyalty, bows from the bishops, praise from the generals, congratulations from the leaders of industry, and oaths of obedience and submission from those leaders of the Brown Storm Troops he did not have executed.

Only a class doomed to death, only a social order doomed to destruction can have such representatives, such "heroes", such lead-

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ers. Degenerate and rotten like German monopoly capitalism, degenerate and rotten like the fascist dictatorship, wading through blood and mud like the ruling class of Germany—these are the representatives of this "system". A pimp like Horst Wessel was made a national hero and they are all worthy of him.

June 30 revealed the depth of the crisis from which the fascist dictatorship is suffering, and June 30 is the beginning of the end for the fascist dictatorship in its national-socialist form. The economic, social, domestic and foreign political difficulties came to a head on June 30, but at the same time June 30 represents a desperate attempt on the part of German monopolist capitalism to save its fascist dictatorship and to reform its open terrorist dictatorship on a new basis.

The State consists of detachments of armed men with such attributes as prisons, we were taught by Engels. On June 30 the State of Hitler's Third Reich appeared on the scene in all its naked brutality. Martial law, that is to say, the Reichswehr, the police, and picked bodies of the black-uniformed Special Guards were let loose against the Brown Storm Troops. Leaders of the Storm Troops were executed, others thrown into prison, the headquarters of the Storm Troops were occupied, the members of the Storm Troops sent "on holiday", forbidden to wear their uniforms and—although it sounds like a bloody and grotesque joke—forbidden to wear their "dirks of honor" until further notice. The Storm Troops are to be cleaned up, and tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of "old and new fighters for national-socialism" are to be thrown out. The basic force of Hitler's Third Reich is now being bombarded with mud.

Thus a contradiction of the Third Reich, of the fascist dictatorship was not solved, but reproduced on a higher stage. The contradiction was that German monopolist capitalism had forged for itself a weapon for erecting the fascist dictatorship, in the shape of the National-Socialist Party, that through this party German monopolist capitalism appealed to the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasants, the plebian and the lumpen-proletarian elements in order to set up its own terrorist dictatorship against the proletariat. The contradiction was that fascism in Germany succeeded as in no other country in creating for itself a broad petty-bourgeois, peasant, plebian, lumpen-proletarian basis in order, when once in power, to carry out the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of German finance capital. The petty-bourgeois elements in the rural areas and in the towns, and in particular the most active elements in the Brown Storm Troops and in the fascist factory organizations, will

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now develop into an anti-fascist force, thanks to their dissatisfaction and indignation, a force which we can win.

Once in power, the Hitler government carried out the dictatorship of monopolist capitalism, and for that very reason it inevitably came into conflict with its own mass basis. This was all the more inevitable because the fascist dictatorship did not succeed and could not succeed in penetrating into the nucleus of the German working class. Our proud and heroic German working class, led by its Communist Party, stood like a rock of granite amidst the storms of the fascist dictatorship. All the attacks of fascism broke ineffectively against this rock of granite. And because the fascist dictatorship still further intensified the crisis of German capitalism, because it worsened not only the situation of the proletariat, but also the situation of all other sections of the toiling masses, because it is leading the country into social, internal and foreign political catastrophe, it is steadily losing its peasant and petty-bourgeois mass basis also. The original enthusiasm of these sections quickly turned into an attitude of critical waiting, and this in its turn is now developing into bitter indignation.

The crisis which came to a head on June 30 was only the counterpart of the advance of the revolutionary working class which is already beginning to draw over the indignant masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns and the peasant masses in the rural areas to its side.

The Brown Storm Troops were a praetorian army in the service of finance capital. After the accession of Hitler to power hundreds and hundreds of thousands of new recruits streamed into the ranks of the Storm Troops, which soon numbered from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 men. In its civil war against the proletariat and in its preparations for imperialist war, the monopolist bourgeoisie was compelled to appeal to the broadest possible masses. Together with these millions, however, went also the disappointment, the dissatisfaction, the indignation and the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois masses, the plebian sections and even certain backward elements of the proletariat into the ranks of the Storm Troops. Roehm, Ernst, Heines and the other bandit leaders of the Storm Troops dreamt of the overthrow of Hitler and the erection of a State under the control of the Storm Troops. They endeavored to make use of the dissatisfaction of the masses—in a distorted form—for their own ends. They naturally were unable to understand that in the period of monopolist capitalism the petty-bourgeois, plebian and lumpen-proletarian elements, to whose social pressure they were subjected despite their own adventurous banditry, were between the upper and nether millstones of modern society, between the bourgeoisie and the pro-

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letariat, and therefore quite unable to play an independent role.

The monopolist bourgeoisie has crushed the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois sections insofar as it expressed itself at the head of the Storm Troops. It crushed the rebellion with blood and iron with the assistance of the Reichswehr, the police and the black-uniformed Special Guards, and it was able to do so because the proletariat had not yet succeeded by its mass struggle in winning the leadership of these sections. In this operation Hitler, Goering and Goebbels were only the lackeys of German finance capital. They were the cloak which hid the naked bloody and revolting features of German finance capital and Junkerdom.

Hitler was in Neudeck and humbly received the orders of Oldenburg von Januschau and the East Elbian Junkers. From Neudeck he went to Krupp in Essen and received from him equally humbly the orders of heavy industry and the National Estate of German Industry. From Neudeck and Essen he then went to Munich. The orders received in Neudeck and Essen were then promptly carried out in Berlin and Munich.

The 30th of June in Germany means that the fascist dictatorship of monopolist capitalism has definitely repulsed its petty-bourgeois mass basis, or rather the remnants of that mass basis, because it was no longer possible to retain it. Large-scale industry, the Junkers, the Reichswehr generals, the high officials, etc., left this dirty work to Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and Himmler. Monopolist capitalism and the Junkers are cynical enough to "permit" their lackeys to carry out this dirty and bloody work as though it were carried out both against a "second revolution" and against the "reaction" simultaneously. They permitted Goebbels and Goering to organize a new provocation on the lines of the Reichstag fire, to talk of a conspiracy between Roehm and von Schleicher, and to make mysterious hints at "conspiracy with a foreign power". As chivalrous gentlemen they permitted the murderers to slaughter both von Schleicher and his wife and to place von Papen under police surveillance. All this belongs to the Hitler-Goebbels swindle, just as much as the exposure of the whole rottenness of the fascist leadership by Hitler himself. Large-scale industry, the Junkers and their Reichswehr generals, and the high officials will probably permit Hitler to continue his dirty and bloody work for a few weeks or months more, to disperse the Brown Storm Troops, to begin the capitalist offensive again with renewed energy, to place the bankruptcy of the State—with all its consequences—on the shoulders of national-socialism, and perhaps even to carry out inflation. But then they will get rid of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering and present themselves as the "Saviors of the Nation".

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In this sense the 30th of June represents an attempt on the part of the monopolist bourgeoisie and the Junkers to reorganize their fascist dictatorship on a new if narrower basis. That is the plan of German monopoly capitalism.

With the assistance of General Blomberg and his Reichswehr, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Himmler will launch a new wave of terror against the working masses, because they are well aware that the only force which can defeat this plan to reorganize the fascist dictatorship is the independent class action of the proletariat, which today has more favorable conditions than ever before for winning the masses of the working petty bourgeoisie as allies in its anti-fascist struggle. Despite this new wave of terror, the German proletariat, under the leadership of its heroic Communist Party, will develop its mass action and its anti-fascist struggle and smash the plan of the German fascist bourgeoisie.

The German proletariat is faced with a big and serious danger in this struggle. Social-democracy feels that its chance is coming again. The *Deutsche Freiheit* already announces that a military dictatorship would represent a progressive step as compared with the Hitler dictatorship. In the theoretical organ of the Social-Democratic Party Central Committee in Prague, *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialismus*, Victor Schiff openly defends reformism and the coalition policy. He writes:

> "We are supposed to have been too little Marxists? Were we not perhaps too Marxist? Did we not perhaps consider the industrial workers too much to the exclusion of other sections of the population, and did not our acknowledgment of the class struggle, an idea which can appeal only to the urban proletariat, do us more harm than good?"

And he continues:

> "We must not permit ourselves to turn away possible allies in our struggle, allies who are perhaps those who are preparing the way for us and who at the moment have even a greater possibility of action than we have. It would be wrong to go into any details at the moment."

This is the program of the new coalition policy, that is the program of the lackeys of the Reichswehr generals, of the Special Guards and the Bishops. And the Central Committee of the Prague bankrupts, the men who voted for Hindenburg, the men who went down on their knees before Hitler and von Papen, now dare to pretend that the mud and blood, the shame and corruption which at present prevail in Germany have anything to do with Bolshevism. Once again they offer the Weimar Republic to the German working

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class as the ideal to be aimed at—the Weimer Republic which offered the basis for the development of fascism. In order to prevent their new class treachery, we must forge unity of action of the fighting proletariat for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, no matter in what form it may appear, and keep this aim before us in all our anti-fascist struggles, in all strikes, in the preparation of political mass strikes, in the carrying out of anti-fascist mass actions, and also in the struggle to win the deceived and betrayed members of the Brown Storm Troops, the national-socialist proletarians, the social-democratic, Christian and trade union workers.

June 30 in Germany opens up a new stage of the struggle for Socialism, for Soviet Power, for a Soviet Germany!

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Lessons of the Milwaukee Street Carmen's Strike

(Statement of the Milwaukee District Committee of the Communist Party.)

THE Milwaukee street car strike of June 26-29 verified the estimation of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. that:

> "The resistance of the masses of toilers to capitalist attacks is growing in volume and intensity. The outstanding feature of all these struggles is the growing strike movement. . . . The magnitude of the struggles shows that the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy and that big class battles are maturing."

The carmen's strike was the greatest mass movement of workers ever witnessed in this city. The strike was indicative of the deep growing radicalization of the masses. It was also an expression of a new type of struggle involving masses of workers such as has not been seen in the United States since the World War.

A feature common to many strikers throughout the U. S. A. at the present time was outstanding in the Milwaukee situation; the strike began involving only a few hundred workers, but very swiftly grew into a mass action involving many tens of thousands, regardless of trade or occupation. A characteristic which is of utmost importance is the widespread solidarity which was felt throughout the city; men, women, youth and children alike were all involved in the struggles of those four days; it was one common front of the workers, employed and unemployed.

In the face of this powerful movement, the big bourgeoisie of Milwaukee became badly frightened and somewhat panic-stricken. *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, organ of Paul Block, in summing up the strike, declared:

> "That our city was in a state of virtual revolution can now be stated."

This statement, although somewhat an exaggeration, reflected the feeling of fright of the bourgeoisie in the face of this militant mass movement.

The workers of the Electric Company had been working for wages too low to meet the rising cost of living brought about by the

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Roosevelt New Deal. The introduction of the codes and the Blue Eagle only led to worse conditions. The profits of the Electric Company, a subsidiary of J. P. Morgan, were meanwhile rising at the expense of the workers and the masses who use electricity and street car transportation. For 18 years the Electric Company was able to dominate and exploit its workers through its company controlled union, the Employees Mutual Benefit Association. Section 7a of the N.R.A. was utilized by the company union to prevent genuine organization and to weed out the most active union workers.

At the beginning of this year, the street carmen began to organize into the A. F. of L. and put forward demands for increased wages, union recognition and reinstatement of 13 discharged union men. In March the men overwhelmingly voted for strike, but the union officialdom succeeded in preventing the scheduled strike by surrendering to the requests of the strike-breaking National Labor Board. The National Labor Board promised a vote as well as the reinstatement of eight out of 13 men fired for union activity. The vote never took place and the company refused to reinstate these men. The Labor Board then issued a statement that it was powerless to do anything.

The discontent of the carmen at the inaction of the Labor Board developed another demand for strike and as a final maneuver to head off a strike, General Johnson withdrew the Blue Eagle, emblem of the N.R.A. This fake gesture to save the face of the government could not prevent the development of the strike.

STRIKE PREPARATIONS

The strike of the street carmen was not a spontaneous movement. On the contrary, the Party unit and opposition groups for a long time placed before the workers, inside the union, the question of the solution to their problems through militant strike action in opposition to the company, National Labor Board, and A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The original demands of the union were inadequate, no economic demands were raised, and all emphasis placed primarily upon the desire for a craft vote and upon recognition of the union. The Party, in consultation with the unit and opposition groups, put forward the following demands which became the slogans of the strikers:

1. For a 25 per cent wage increase with a 75-cent minimum hourly wage.

2. Immediate recognition of the union. No consideration to be given to the E.M.B.A., since it is a company union. A committee to be appointed with representatives from the three local unions in the

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Electric Company, to consider immediate amalgamation of *one union for all T.M.E.R. and L. Co. workers.*

3. Immediate reinstatement of all those fired for union activity. Back pay for all time lost during this period.

The Party exposed the strike-breaking role of the N.R.A. and in opposition to the union officialdom showed that the strike must not be for the Blue Eagle, but against it. For weeks prior to the strike, the Communist Party through leaflets and activity inside the union warned the carmen not to depend upon arbitration and the Labor Board. Together with our comrades in the union, a strategy was worked out to win the support of other unions, as well as of the masses who pay tribute to the Power Trust.

The carmen's request for support from the Milwaukee trade unions developed into a demand for sympathetic action and aroused sentiment for a general strike. While this movement was being sabotaged by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the unions, our Party brought forward the necessity to unite behind the street carmen, and urged the workers in various shops and unions to raise their own demands for higher wages and better conditions, at the same time to demand from the Federated Trades Council to prepare for general strike action in support of the carmen.

To cement the unity between the employed and unemployed, the Unemployment Council sent a representative to the union meeting before the strike, pledging support, which was accepted by the carmen.

A. F. OF L. BUREAUCRACY AFRAID OF STRIKE

To the very last moment, the A. F. of L. leaders worked to prevent the strike, carrying on secret negotiations with the company through the Federal Mediator as well as through a so-called Citizens Committee, representing the Association of Commerce. Even when the strike broke, some of the union leaders tried to shirk all responsibility by shifting the burdens upon the rank and file.

Because of the miserable preparation on the part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the demoralization which they allowed to set in by months of negotiations and dilly-dallying, and the distrust of the leaders which developed as a result of this, the response on the first day of the strike was very small and weak. No attempts were made to organize picketing; a demonstration, scheduled for the morning of the strike, was called off at the last minute. The first picket lines set up were organized by the Communists and Unemployment Councils together with a few militant carmen. The higher officials of the union made no effort to call together the picket captains and

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organize militant action to stop the street cars and power, and to set up picket lines before the car barns.

The first day of the strike found transportation running as normal, of course, under the protection of steel armor and police.

C.P. MOBILIZES MASSES FOR SUPPORT OF STRIKE

The Party began to mobilize the Milwaukee workers to give help to strengthen the strike, to spread it, and through militant action to stop the street cars. This was the only hope for success, and was possible because of the mass hatred and resentment felt against the Electric Company by the masses. The slogans issued by the Party met with the greatest sympathy and response. A call for mass picketing to stop the movement of street cars was broadcast and by evening of the first night, some twenty thousand workers gathered for picketing before one barn, the South Kinnikinnic station. This was made possible only by the energetic action of the Party and Y.C.L. comrades from the neighborhood who went from house to house mobilizing the workers for the picket demonstration. These comrades played a leading part in the militant actions which succeeded in stopping transportation on the lines out of that barn.

Another slogan issued by the Party on the first day, which mobilized masses of workers, was the call to demand a refund on the weekly passes bought at the beginning of each week. Thousands of workers formed continuous lines before the company's offices demanding their money back. The company at first refused to return this money, but under mass pressure was compelled to make the refund. It is estimated that some ten thousand people demanded refunds.

The slogan for sympathetic strikes was also raised and brought to all shops and unions and met with favorable response.

The militant action of the South Side workers aroused the proletarian population of Milwaukee and West Allis, and in response to the call of the Party on the second day, some 75,000 workers gathered to stop all street cars and transportation out of the chief car barns. (The Party was the only organization that issued leaflets, mobilized workers in an organized fashion, held meetings, etc., in support of the strike.) Along with this wave of mass action, additional carmen joined the strike and by Wednesday evening, the second day of the strike, all transportation stopped. It was only due to this militant action that such a change could occur in the strike within 24 hours.

An example of the mass mobilization of the workers is an incident in West Allis when it was rumored that the company would

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try to run one car out of the barns in order to save their franchise which calls for at least one car to be run over each line in 24 hours. A busload of gangsters was sent into the barn under the protection of a large mobilization of Milwaukee and West Allis police. However, within one or two hours, as a result of the intensive activity of our comrades, several thousand workers were gathered from all over the city, and discouraged the efforts of the company. That car never did run on that day.

In all of these pitched battles with the police, the women and youth were in the forefront. Many of the women fell victims to the cruelty of the police and were jailed. The youth were especially active and ingenious in devising methods to stop street car transportation. Many hundreds of children, with the active help of the Young Pioneers, received their baptism in the class struggle. With slingshots, stones, and ball bearings they gave effective help in the stopping of transportation.

After four days of such struggle all street car traffic was dead, power had been shut off in neighboring cities of Racine and Kenosha and in half of Milwaukee, with the other half facing the same fate. All power house workers walked out leaving the plants only in the hands of imported armed gangsters.

MILWAUKEE POLICE ACT AS STRIKE-BREAKERS

At the Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party, Mayor Daniel Hoan, delegate from Milwaukee, boasted that what took place in Toledo could never take place in the socialist-administered Milwaukee, that here the police were "neutral" in labor disputes. The strikes of the past six months in this city had convinced many workers as to the emptiness of this boast, but the street carmen's strike finally made clear to tens of thousands of workers that the role of the police during strikes in Milwaukee, as in other cities, was to protect the property rights and profits of the capitalist class. The Police Department of Milwaukee, as in any other city, played the role of a strike-breaking agency. Many hundreds of workers were clubbed, gassed and wounded, and over one hundred arrested.

Whereas in the past the workers had been taught by the socialists to respect and fraternize with the police, during this strike, the workers so clearly realized their role that the appearance of the Chief of Police at one demonstration was hailed with a storm of stones and missiles. An unofficial martial law was declared by the police in the territory of the South Kinnikinnic barns where the fighting was most fierce and frequent—all traffic was rerouted, no one could approach within blocks of the station, people were driven off their front

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porches into the houses, and all stores in that territory were closed by order of the police. The resentment of the working class population of the neighborhood grew to fever pitch and the picket demonstrations grew.

In the midst of this tremendous mass movement, the highly paid official of the carmen's union, Samuel Berrong, issued a statement which amounted to a strike-breaking act. Disclaiming all responsibility for the mass actions, he accused the Communists of the sole responsibility for the mass picketing, etc. The purpose of this statement was to prejudice the workers against the Communist Party, to create a "Red scare" and call off all picketing. The results, however, were just the contrary and led to a raising of the prestige of the Communist Party.

GENERAL STRIKE SABOTAGED BY A. F. OF L. AND S. P. LEADERS

The role of the bureaucracy is best shown by their sabotage of the movement for a general strike. Every conceivable excuse was utilized by them to prevent such a movement. Just prior to the strike they sidetracked the demand for general strike with a resolution of the Federated Trades Council to give "moral support". During the strike even this moral support was missing, and when the workers in the unions began to push for strike, Joseph Padway, attorney for the central labor body, issued a statement advising the workers against any sympathetic strikes or any general strike.

Despite the efforts of the bureaucracy, the sentiment of the workers for general strike became so great that on the fourth day the Building Trades Council voted for general strike, and later that day the Federated Trades Council was forced to reverse its position by issuing a call for a 48-hour general strike to start within three days after the call was issued. This call by the Federated Trades Council was a maneuver by the bureaucracy to save their faces in view of the mass demand for general strike. At the time that the call was issued it was already known to them that negotiations were reaching a stage where the strike was to be called off. To play safe and to allow time for additional maneuvers they set the date ahead three days. The strike was called off within a few hours after the call was issued, which showed the insincerity of their gesture.

SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIALS AGAINST THE STRIKE

Just prior to the beginning of the strike, the State Convention of the Socialist Party was held. At that time preparations for the carmen's strike were going on and sentiment for general strike was

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spreading. The leaders of the S.P. in Milwaukee are also the leaders of the trade union movement in the city and state: Ohl, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor; Handley, secretary of that body; Sheehan, organizer of the Federated Trades Council, etc., etc. Yet the convention adjourned without mentioning the street carmen's strike or passing an opinion on the general strike. When we recall that in March of this year the socialist *Milwaukee Leader* printed a strike-breaking ad paid for by the Electric Company, their attitude to this strike is not surprising.

Although the company was making provocative preparations to break the strike, putting out steel-armored cars, importing gangsters and gunmen, etc., the socialist city administration refused to take any action or even issue a statement. Prior to the strike, a committee representing the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., and other working class organizations, went to the mayor to protest against the actions of the company. The socialist city attorney, Max Raskin, speaking for the administration, pleaded impotency to do anything for the benefit of the workers, but gave such legal interpretations that cleared the road for the strike-breaking activity of the Electric Company.

Prior to and during the first three days of the strike, the socialist Mayor Hoan maintained complete silence. As far as he was concerned, there was no strike in the city of Milwaukee. It was only after the Communist Party had issued tens of thousands of leaflets exposing Hoan's role and the meaning of his silence, and Hoan saw that the tremendous mass movement made it safe to commit himself, that the first statement recognizing the existence of the strike was issued by the mayor. The traitorous stand of Hoan and other S.P. officials received the sanction of the socialist county central committee which on June 27, the second day of the strike, passed the following motion:

> "After a discussion on the strike at the Electric Company, and working conditions in general, it was moved and carried that the Executive Board, together with socialist public officials, issue a statement to the public in behalf of the Socialist Party and public officials if deemed advisable."

All denials of the socialist press to the contrary are blasted by the above motion made at a meeting of their leading committee.

Instead of an outright endorsement of the strike and the activity of the Milwaukee workers during these three days, Hoan came out in defense of the Blue Eagle and the N.R.A., furthering illusions about both. Instead of condemning the brutality of the police and

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their strike-breaking activity, he shed tears about violence and its besmirching the fair name of the city of Milwaukee.

The socialists in this country have always boasted about the glories of "municipal socialism" in Milwaukee, claiming everything that was good to their credit. However, when anything bad was pointed out, they disclaimed responsibility under the guise that they have no power. The *New Leader* of June 30 printed a statement that the city administration has no police powers and is helpless to prevent police brutality. This is an outright falsehood. It is Mayor Hoan who appoints the Fire and Police Commission, which in turn appoints the highest police official. It was Mayor Hoan who brought the present Chief of Police, Laubenheimer, into office. The head of the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission is a member of the Socialist Party. Had Mayor Hoan been a real socialist, not a traitor to the working class, his authority and powers were sufficient to prevent police brutality and strike-breaking.

Another example of the role of a socialist administration is Mayor Baxter of West Allis, a "Left" among the socialists. In answer to the company's request for protection for their property, he wrote the following:

> "You are hereby advised that the City of West Allis will furnish such lawful protection to property and life as it is possible for us to supply. *This protection, however, in my opinion, is not adequate for the present emergency. You are therefore further advised to take such steps as are necessary to secure the added protection.*"

This was an open invitation for the company to use hired thugs and gangsters, an invitation readily accepted by the company. Let the "Lefts" and militants of the Socialist Party be proud of their strike-breaking Milwaukee allies. These deeds of the Milwaukee socialists emphasize the social-fascist character of the Socialist Party, which the "Left" phrases of the Detroit Convention cannot cover up.

The Milwaukee workers learned during this strike the role of the capitalist State and capitalist democracy as a weapon to suppress the exploited. The so-called municipal "socialism" of Daniel Hoan does not change the character of capitalist exploitation, nor the role of the State. The socialist propaganda for a municipal power house is an attempt to divert the masses from a real struggle against capitalism, and the taking over of industry by the workers. To expose the treachery of the S.P. we are guided by the following:

> "The Party must in the everyday work clarify the workers, in a popular and concrete way, on the principal difference between us and the reformists. The Party must prove to the workers by its practical work that we are the vanguard fighters for a united struggle

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and that the reformists are the splitters and disrupters of the struggle." (From *An Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party*, July 10, 1933.)

In combatting the social-fascist poison, we must always keep in mind that:

"The central task of the Party is to organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and to develop these struggles, on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers, into general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government." (Resolution of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.)

During the strike, while the Communist Party put forward immediate demands and did everything possible to win better conditions for the workers, it, however, clearly put forward to the masses of Milwaukee the necessity for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism—explaining the slogan of a workers' and farmers' government, pointing to the Soviet Union as the living example of what such a government could accomplish.

WHAT THE STRIKERS GAINED

In the face of the mass response in support of the strikers, the Electric Company was compelled to grant certain concessions to its workers; however, some of the more important demands, *i.e.*, for union recognition and a definite wage increase, were not won. The results of the strike cannot be characterized as a defeat nor as a complete victory. The carmen did win the reinstatement with back pay of those previously fired for union activity. They also won the right to be represented by another union besides the company union. Further, the company union was compelled to withdraw its edict which would have fired all who joined an outside union. In addition to these, other minor concessions were granted to the workers.

The union bargained away its rights to choose its own representatives and instead a committee of three, headed by Julius P. Heil, an open-shop manufacturer, and two representatives of the National Labor Board, neither of whom is a worker or a labor man, has the sole right to pick and designate who is to represent the workers of the Electric Company. This committee is also empowered to arbitrate any disputed questions. The workers cannot expect anything from such a committee. The further surrendering of the right to strike during negotiation of disputed questions gave up the strongest weapon in the possession of the workers.

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With a complete victory for the strikers in sight and possible to achieve, it was snatched from them by the surrender of the bureaucracy which had itself become frightened by this mass upheaval. The hollow claim of the officials that the agreement signed is a complete victory is shown up by the interpretation given to it by Mr. S. B. Way, president of the Electric Company, who stated the following:

> "This method of arbitration preserves the spirit and substantially the form of that which has been in effect for 16 years under the continuing contract between E.M.B.A. [the company union] and the company."

The partial victory gained by the strikers was made possible only by the mass support of the strike given by the Milwaukee workers, and if these gains are to be retained the carmen will have to struggle against the union bureaucracy for rank-and-file control of their organization. Instead of class collaboration, militant class action by the union is necessary.

The decision of the arbitration board two weeks after the strike, recognizing the union as the sole representative of the Electric Company workers, is due to the strength gained by the workers during and after the strike and the fear of another struggle to enforce the demand. (This was brought about only because of the militancy of the rank-and-file union members who were insistent upon their demands.)

Some share of the responsibility for the acceptance of this agreement rests upon the members of the opposition groups and the Party members among the carmen who failed to put up the necessary fight against the ratification of this agreement. It was obvious at the ratification meeting that there was great sentiment against the agreement, but no militant leadership was offered at the decisive moment. The intrigues of the union officials, the pressure placed upon the local leaders and union men, the secrecy of the proceedings, do not excuse the failure to put up a fight against the terms of the agreement. Had the Party members been more firm at this meeting they could have defeated this agreement and won more suitable terms with a complete victory for the strikers. This is proved by the fact that the company was forced to grant still further concessions even after the agreement was ratified.

THE ACTIVITY AND MISTAKES OF THE C.P. DURING THE STRIKE

The response of the Party membership generally was good and most comrades actively participated in their neighborhood picket lines. The *Daily Worker* was sold at all demonstrations, though in insufficient numbers. The Party distributed 100,000 leaflets during the

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strike. A very serious weakness was displayed during the strike by some individual comrades in mass organizations. When the bourgeoisie, through the Citizens Committee, was demanding that the Party offices be raided and the Communists jailed, instead of taking the necessary precautions, these comrades became panic-stricken and disorganized activity of mass organizations, like the I.L.D., I.W.O., and John Reed Club, by calling off meetings without any authority. With the sharpening of the class struggle, the Party and the mass organizations must take all necessary steps to safeguard their members and apparatus, but at the same time we must fight to the last ditch against any attempts to drive us into illegality. The Party must strictly censure comrades who try to defend such panicky confusion in the face of a serious situation. The District Committee was correct in calling the joint solidarity meeting during the strike. The assertion of individuals that this would be interpreted as a splitting tactic *proved to be false. To give up the independent activity of the Party* and its sympathetic organizations during a struggle on the grounds of "unity" is tantamount to surrender to the bureaucracy.

In the situation of growing struggles, organization assumes greater significance than ever. The measure of the progress of the Party can be determined by the degree to which we develop the class consciousness of the masses involved in the struggle, by the extent to which we build the Party and consolidate the influence and prestige which the Party gained during this struggle.

To this end, it becomes necessary for the Party to bring before the workers, clearly and convincingly, the lessons of the Milwaukee street-car strike, in the light of the heightened political level to which the current wave of strike struggles is rising. The role of the State as an open, terrorist, strike-breaking agency must be exposed by us in such a way as to point to the necessity of directing the struggle for immediate and partial demands toward the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of Soviet Power. Particularly must we bring forward the lesson of developing independent leadership of the workers' economic struggles, the necessity for developing in the reformist unions a broad, militant rank-and-file opposition to expose and challenge the treacherous policy of the misleaders; to win the confidence of the workers by consistent, courageous leadership; to take over the direction of the struggles and, by providing in the trade unions a mass Party base, to lead the workers in decisive battles to victory over capitalism.

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The Leninist Party as Leader of the Struggle Against Imperialist War

By H. M. WICKS

THE struggle against imperialist war must necessarily be a revolutionary struggle. To be able to carry on a revolutionary struggle the working class must be united behind the revolutionary Party—the Communist Party. Today, 20 years after the launching of the first World War, there approaches a new round of wars and revolutions, a situation wherein, to quote the Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, "the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to a revolutionary crisis".

Today the proletariat is in a position that is far more advantageous than on the eve of the first world imperialist war. This is chiefly due to the existence of the Communist International, which is correctly designated *the greatest achievement of the working class of the world.*

Twenty years ago, when the first World War between the imperialist powers for a redivision of the world took place, the class-conscious workers of all the advanced countries were victims of the betrayal of the leaders of international social-democracy.

ONE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY—ONE REVOLUTIONARY VICTORY

Amidst the infamy and betrayals of the leadership of the Second International parties, during the first round of wars and revolutions, there was but one Party that stood out as distinct from them and against them. That was the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Vladimir Ilych Lenin. It was that Party only which was able, in the course of that World War, to stand at the head of the toiling masses of Russia and lead them to their October victory—the conquest of power through the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Had there been other such Parties

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in those countries wherein there existed objectively revolutionary situations, there would have been more than one October.

It was this Party, permeated with Marxism-Leninism, knowing how to combine revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, a Party that knew how to respond to the sufferings, the desires of the day-to-day existence of the toiling masses and to integrate these and direct them into one revolutionary channel, that alone led the proletariat to victory. This Party of Marxism-Leninism was not created in a day. It developed into the Party of proletarian victory through an implacable struggle against opportunism of every variety, through working out correctly the strategy and tactics of the proletarian Party in combatting and overcoming the class enemy; in pursuit of that task it solved the question of reserves, the allies of the proletariat, the peasantry and the nationals within the realms of the bygone Czars.

As August First, International Fighting Day Against Imperialist War, approaches, it is necessary to drive home to every Party member, to every working class fighter, the role of the Communist Party in leading the struggle against imperialist war. Our tasks today can be more clearly seen in the light of the brilliant struggle led by Lenin against the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys both of the Right and the "Center".

A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS

All those social-democratic leaders of every variety, who supported their own bourgeoisie in the World War, tried to justify their actions by the claim that war is something that comes suddenly, unexpectedly, something that marks a definite break with the "peaceful" past. The most open, brazen traitors at the head of the social-democratic parties, like Scheidemann, Hyndmann, Henderson, Guesde, Vandervelde, and Plekhanov (defended in the United States by Hillquit and Berger) repeated the chauvinist propaganda of the imperialist ruling classes of the various countries to the effect that the capitalists, before whom they debased themselves, were waging a defensive war; that their countries had been attacked by predatory enemies.

In all his activity during the early days of the war, Lenin exposed the official leadership of social-democracy and showed that one could not speak of "defensive" war in connection with that particular war—that to do so is to put forth an historical lie because every country involved was swept into the war by an imperialist ruling class fighting for a redivision of the world at the expense of rival powers.

In combatting the social-patriots, Lenin repeatedly emphasized

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the fact of the collapse of social-democracy and the Second International, and proceeded to lay the ground-work of a new international. The revolutionary work of unmasking the social-chauvinists was carried on in spite of the war censorship and under the most difficult conditions. Social-democracy, then as now, tried to maintain its control over masses of workers by a division of labor among its leaders. While the Scheidemanns were out-and-out Kaiser socialists, the chief theoretical leader of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, played another role. His job was to persuade the masses that had been led by Scheidemann into the shambles of the imperialist war that the ruling class could be persuaded to become pacifist and internationalist, through developing to the "higher stage" of ultra-imperialism. In *Die Neue Zeit*, for September, 1914, Kautsky wrote:

> "There is no economic necessity for the continuation of the great competition in the production of armaments after the close of the present war. . . . Every far-sighted capitalist must call out to his associates: Capitalists of all lands, unite.
>
> "From a purely economic point of view it is not impossible that capitalism is now to enter on a new phase, a phase marked by the transfer of trust methods to international politics, a sort of super-imperialism."

In combatting Kautsky, Lenin showed that such a theory possessed not an atom of Marxism and that no matter what the outcome of the war, if capitalism remained, any "peace" established would only be a truce between wars, because there can be no other way for establishing and maintaining spheres of influence, dividing up colonies, etc., than testing the strength of the powers through economic, financial, and military warfare. Lenin showed that unless capitalism were overthrown there would ensue a new war for a new redivision of the world—and now, 20 years after, with the world plunging headlong into a new round of wars and revolutions, history itself shows that Lenin was correct, that super-imperialism is impossible.

Another of Kautsky's theories to justify social-chauvinism on an international scale, and to try to persuade the masses that a fight against imperialist war is hopeless was his assertion in *Die Neue Zeit* of October 2, 1914, that "never are governments so strong, never are parties so weak as at the beginning of a war". Thus Kautsky put forth another historical lie to justify the most vicious war-time opportunism and treachery. As a matter of fact, a government entering war strives in every way to create the illusion of strength and resorts to desperate measures to put down any opposition. But that is not a sign of strength. On the contrary, the slightest disturbance

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affecting its economic organism may have far-reaching political consequences.

Against all the social-patriots who held that war means a definite break in the development of external and internal antagonisms, is the Marxist-Leninist position, which takes as its formulation the statement made by one of the foremost authorities on war, Karl von Clausewitz, a hundred years ago: "*War is nothing but a continuation of political relations by other [that is, forcible] means.*"

TROTZKY IN THE CAMP OF THE WAR-MONGERS

Proceeding from the basic Marxist standpoint that war is inevitable under capitalism and that it can only end with the smashing of capitalism, which is possible only through the highest form of political struggle—the armed revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois State power—Lenin pilloried Leon Trotzky, who advanced the slogan: "Neither victory nor defeat".

In replying to Trotzky, Lenin said:

> "A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but 'wish the defeat of its own government'.
>
> "This is an axiom. It is disputed only by the conscious partisans or the helpless satellites of the social-chauvinists. To the former, for instance, belongs Semkovsky from the Organization Committee; to the latter belong Trotzky and Bukvoyed; in Germany, Kautsky. To wish Russia defeat, Trotzky says, is 'an uncalled for and unjustified political concession to the methodology of social-patriotism which substitutes for the revolutionary struggle against war and the conditions that cause war, an orientation along the lines of the lesser evil, an orientation which, under given conditions, is perfectly arbitrary'. (*Nashe Slovo*, No. 115.") *

Commenting on Trotzky's twaddle about the "methodology of social-patriotism", Lenin observes:

> "This is an example of the inflated phraseology with which Trotzky always justifies opportunism. 'A revolutionary struggle against war' is an empty phrase and meaningless exclamation, the like of which the heroes of the Second International are past masters in making, unless it means revolutionary actions against one's own government in time of war. . . . When we say revolutionary actions in war time against one's own government, we indisputably mean not only the wish for its defeat, but practical actions leading toward such defeat." **

Continuing, Lenin rips through the "Left" phrases behind which Trotzky tried to conceal his essential social-chauvinism and declares:

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* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 197. International Publishers, 1930.

** *Ibid.*

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> ". . . Whoever accepts the 'Neither victory nor defeat' slogan can only hypocritically be in favor of the class struggle, of 'breaking civil peace'; such a one must *in practice* renounce the independent proletarian policy, because he puts before the proletariat of all belligerent countries the *absolutely bourgeois* task of guarding their own imperialist governments against defeat. . . .
>
> "Whoever is in favor of the 'Neither victory nor defeat' slogan is a conscious or unconscious chauvinist, at best a petty-bourgeois pacifist, at all events an *enemy* of the proletarian policy, a partisan of the existing governments, of the existing ruling classes." *

At the Zimmerwald Conference (Sept. 5-8, 1915), Lenin fought brilliantly for the Marxist position against imperialist war. Unable to answer him politically, the concealed social-patriots resorted to cheap slander. The character of the "arguments" then used are typified by the charge of Georg Ledebour of Germany, who said to Lenin: "Yes, it is all very well for you living abroad to call for civil war. I would like to see what you would do if you were in Russia". To which, according to the account of Gregory Zinoviev, Lenin calmly replied: "Karl Marx wrote his *Communist Manifesto* while he lived abroad, and only a narrow-minded petty bourgeois would reproach him for that. I am living abroad now because the Russian workers sent me here. When the time comes we will be at our posts . . ."

The October victory, led in person by Lenin, was history's confirmation of the retort to the Ledebours.

PREPARATION FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

From the day, 20 years ago, when the leaders of the Second International brought to its inevitable conclusion the opportunism of decades and landed its exponents in the camp of social-chauvinism, Lenin raised the damand for the creation of the Third International. In all his writings and speeches on the war, in all his political activity, he urged all those who fought against the war, those who went against the stream, to lay the foundations of a new world Party—a Party that could play the decisive role in the objective revolutionary situation that existed in the majority of the big nations of Europe. At the Zimmerwald conference in 1915 and at the second conference of the Zimmerwaldians, held at Kienthal in 1916, Lenin constantly carried on ideological preparation for the Third International and developed a struggle in pursuit of its establishment. Throughout the period of the war it was the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, who represented the only consistent Marxian tendency in the Socialist movement.

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* *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

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It was the undeviating pursuit of revolutionary policy, the application of the theory and practice of the proletarian revolutionary movement, that enabled the Bolsheviks to stand at the head of the revolutionary masses in Russia and lead them to victory. We cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that such a victory would have been utterly impossible without the leadership of the Leninist Party.

More than ever, in the great revolutionary upsurge that swept the world after the October victory, the necessity of establishing the Third International became of prime importance. And in the midst of civil war and intervention, on March 4, 1919, the Congress to establish the Third (Communist) International, was held under Lenin's leadership. In commenting on this event, Lenin said:

> "The world historical significance of the Third (Communist) International lies in that it began to put into effect Marx's greatest slogan, a slogan which sums up the century-old development of Socialism and the working class movement, a slogan expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the more than 15 years that have passed since the foundation of the Communist International there have been established Communist Parties, sections of that International, in some sixty countries.

DECISIVE STRUGGLES ARE AT HAND

In the onrush toward a new round of wars and revolutions, in the conditions of a maturing world revolutionary crisis, it is essential for every revolutionist to be familiar with the Marxist-Leninist policies in the struggle against imperialist war. This entails the task of correctly combining with our day-to-day work the ideological struggle against social-democracy which, in the present period, is now definitely social-fascist.

All our preparations for August First and for carrying to a higher stage the struggle against imperialist war and fascism must proceed from the fundamental Marxist-Leninist premise that the drive toward imperialist war is a continuation of the policy that has been pursued by the imperialist powers from the Versailles "peace" pacts down to date. The economic crisis, now in its fifth year, has profoundly affected the political situation inside the capitalist countries and intensified the struggle among them. This is characterized by the rise of fascism in a number of countries and by the growth of fascist tendencies in all capitalist countries. Fascism is the result of the attempt on the part of the capitalists, desperately striving to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses, to restrain these masses from revolutionary action against capitalism.

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The Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shows how the growth of fascism is definitely integrated with the onrush toward imperialist war. Therein it is stated that the growth of fascism means:

> "(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital are growing.
>
> "(b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general.
>
> "(c) That, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world).
>
> "(d) That, in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics, which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars."

In facing the situation of a growing revolutionary upsurge, the capitalist class today finds in social-democracy its main social prop. This social-democracy which, 20 years ago, went over to the side of the imperialists in the first World War, today plays a role even more infamous than the monstrous betrayal of 1914. The social-democratic leaders at that time went over to the side of the war-mongers *after* the war was declared. Today they are actively aiding the finance capitalists *prepare* a new World War. One of their chief tasks now is to aid in introducing fascism. They practice the most shameful deception upon the workers by denying that fascism grows out of capitalist democracy. They try to divert the struggle of the workers from the biggest finance capitalists by claiming that fascism is the rule of the petty bourgeoisie. The Austro-Marxists, under the leadership of the social-fascist, Otto Bauer, call fascism "non-class" rule. The renegade, Trotzky, depicts fascism as petty-bourgeois counter revolution. In other words, fascism, according to these scoundrels, is not a policy pursued in the interests of monopoly capital, but indicates the rise to power of the middle class.

Such an approach has no more revolutionary validity than the miserable social-chauvinist slogan that Trotzsky put forth against Lenin in 1914—"Neither victory nor defeat". It is a piece of political stupidity that one could expect from Trotzky, who, in 1914, put forth the slogan "The United States of Europe" as a means of "ending war". Lenin showed at that time that Trotzky's slogan was utterly incorrect because it could be interpreted to mean that victory of Socialism in one country is impossible. In commenting upon this illusion, Lenin blasted the theory that is the very central

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point of international Trotzkyism today when he said: "Unequal economic and political development is an indispensable law of capitalism. It follows that the victory of Socialism is, at the beginning, possible in a few countries, even in one, taken separately."

TROTZKY'S THEORY OF MIDDLE CLASS FASCISM

During the first World War Trotzky covered himself with infamy by his objective support of social-chauvinism. Now, on the eve of a new round of wars, he literally wallows in social-fascist filth. Just as the Second International now plays a more debased role than in 1914, inasmuch as it is the chief social prop of the bourgeoisie in preparing for imperialist war, so Trotzky's role is more depraved today.

Today, when he tries to deflect the blows of the working class from monopoly capital by claiming that fascism is middle class counter-revolution, he denies the whole Marxist-Leninist position on the development of capitalist society. In the growth of capitalism from competition to monopoly, vast sections of the middle class are crushed down into the ranks of the proletariat, and under monopoly capitalism this proceeds at an accelerated pace. In no large imperialist country has the middle class sufficient vitality to lead an independent political existence. Yet, Trotzky would have us believe that fascism means that history has reversed its course and that the middle class, in the period of capitalist decay, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, develops such power that it can dominate a nation like Germany.

Trotzky confuses the class character of fascism with the class composition of the mass movement that fascism builds up in support of finance capital.

The fundamental question in regard to fascism is: Which class does it serve? And on this question Marxism-Leninism utterly rejects the social-democratic conception of fascism and emphatically states that there is no fundamental class difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Capitalist democracy is the concealed dictatorship of the capitalist class. Under the impact of the general crisis of capitalism, which is extremely accentuated by the economic crisis, bourgeois democracy resorts to ever more violent assaults upon the toiling masses. Hence, the finance capitalists, through the use of their State power, and with the aid of their chief social prop, social-democracy, introduce fascism. As the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. said:

> "Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital."

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Just as Lenin, at the head of the one consistently revolutionary Party of the proletariat, waged a merciless drive against the elements trying to disintegrate the ranks of the proletariat, so we, today, must fight to destroy those groups that are trying to hold back and disintegrate our fighting forces.

UNITY OF ACTION AGAINST WAR MONGERS

The most tremendous revolutionizing factor is the forward march of the Soviet Union where, under the leadership of the Communist Party at the head of which is Comrade Stalin, there proceeds the building of a classless society. The example of the Soviet Union shows to the toiling masses everywhere in their intensified struggle for bread and against the fascist offensive, what miracles of security for all, of improved living and working conditions, can be achieved when capitalist rule has been smashed and the rule of the working class established.

In all the rising revolutionary struggles the part played by the Communist Parties, the Sections of the Communist International, is decisive. In the years that have passed since the last World War and the Bolshevik revolution there has been carried on the process of building up an International that is dedicated to the revolution—a world Party leading under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

But that does not mean there are no weaknesses to overcome. It is not sufficient to have a correct line, to follow the correct strategy and tactics. It is necessary really to build the Party as the leader of the masses, to consolidate our influence organizationally, to penetrate and turn into revolutionary fortresses the factories in the basic industries, especially the war and potential war industries.

Today, in the United States, the struggle of the working class is entering a new phase. The masses are becoming aware of the real nature of the Roosevelt New Deal of hunger, fascism and imperialist war, especially as it affects their every-day lives in the form of wage-cuts, strike-breaking, company unionism, hunger rations. But they do not yet see the full implications of the drive toward war and fascism. In this connection the preparation of the August First demonstrations and strikes must be utilized to show to the workers that the drive against their standards here is a part of the preparations for imperialist war.

Our Party must come forward as the greatest unifying force in the labor movement, coordinating all the varied organizations, uniting employed and unemployed, Negro and white, native-born and foreign-born, and directing the mass struggles into a common revolutionary channel. The campaign for August First of this year must be made into a campaign for a broad united front to draw in large

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sections of the rank and file in the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party around our central slogans against fascism and imperialist war.

History has put the question: Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; hence the chief slogan of the Communist International is *Soviet Power.*

And even here, in the still most strongly intrenched imperialism in the world, the workers are more insistently raising the issue of general strike, thereby registering a higher stage of struggle, which, with correct leadership, can go forward from defensive struggles to attacks against the capitalist system itself.

But while including the general strike as a weapon against imperialist war, Communists do not fall into such errors as raising the slogan of "reply to war with a general strike". To do so would create illusions. But along with the growth of revolutionary mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes in basic industries, munitions works, waterside, rail transport, etc., the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—can be a mighty weapon, and "as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices". (Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.)

Finally, in all our activity against imperialist war, we must always refute the pacifist illusion that wars can be abolished under capitalism, and keep before the masses the Leninist position as set forth in the Sixth World Congress resolution against war:

> "War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the 'abolition' of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, *i.e.*, through the overthrow of the class of bourgeois exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of socialism, the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however 'realistic' they may claim to be, are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war."

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Imperialist War and Politics in the Far East

By R. DOONPING

THE dominating feature in the Far Eastern situation is the conflict and interaction of four factors. First, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy of China, which is the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, is confronted with the most chauvinistic and extremely aggressive imperialism of Japan. Secondly, other imperialist Powers with interests in the Far East, notably England, France, and the United States of America, are either cooperating with Japan in exchange for a share of the spoils or are struggling with Japan for the right to take the spoils themselves. Thirdly, the victim, China—or more accurately, the Chinese workers, peasants, and city poor, on whose shoulders the burden of exploitation and war must fall—is now rising against his masters; in Soviet China he has already become his own master. The fourth factor is the Soviet Union, which, by virtue of the October Revolution and its great success in Socialist construction, has definitely become a first-rate Power, a Power loved and considered their own by the proletariat and toiling masses of the world, but hated and regarded as the most dangerous menace to their system by the exploiters and rulers in all the imperialist Powers and the colonies.

The conflict of the imperialist Powers, their struggle for the partition of China, and the revolutionary role of the Soviet Union and Soviet China are facts of a fundamental and socio-economic character which have the sharpest expressions in the Far East. In the Far East today, economic conflicts quickly take the form of political struggles, and political struggles are already being fought in the battlefield in China, and, in cases in which open war has not yet broken out, political and military maneuvers are continuously being made with an eye to gaining advantageous positions in the coming war. A condition of revolutionary civil war against Chiang Kai-Shek's sixth anti-Communist campaign already exists in China, while on the Siberian-Manchurian border, anti-Soviet attacks may start at any moment. Concentrated expressions of the sharpest contradictions are fast driving the Far East into a broad and world-shaking war and a revolutionary crisis.

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JAPAN AND POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS IN THE FAR EAST

Both from the point of view of political alignments and military aggressiveness, Japan occupies a crucial position in the Far East. That a war against the Soviet Union and the conquest of Eastern Siberia and Mongolia constitutes one of the main objectives of Japanese imperialist expansion is a well-known and clearly admitted fact. To achieve this objective, Japan must get the support of other Powers, particularly a Western first-rate Power, with the necessary military and financial resources for the task. Lenin saw this point many years ago when he said at the Second Congress of the Communist International that Japan "was able to plunder the eastern Asiatic countries but it cannot have any independent financial or military power without the support of another country". Japan could not have won the Russo-Japanese War without the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the support of the London bankers. This is the reason that, despite growing conflicts over the Indian and Latin-American markets between Japan and Great Britain, Japan is still seeking feverishly for a new Anglo-Japanese anti-Soviet alliance. It is not accidental that Finance Minister Takahashi stated in the Diet on March 8: "The pound sterling, which fluctuates within comparatively small ranges, will furnish the standard by which to fix the purchase price of gold". The British, on the other hand, although annoyed by Japanese dumping in India and Latin America, are not indifferent to the proposal. As the leading organizer of the anti-Soviet war, the British rulers realize the importance of Japan in a concerted drive against the Soviet Union on both the eastern and western fronts. The British attitude was clearly expressed during April when Japan, in its statement on the Chinese issues on the 17th of that month, practically pronounced the death sentence of the Nine-Power Treaty and claimed China as its protectorate. The British government not only refused to enter into an Anglo-American stand against the Japanese offensive as voiced in the American press, but announced, through the mouth of Sir John Simon: "His Majesty's government are content to leave this particular question where it is". Barring formalities, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, primarily directed against the Soviet Union, can be considered as an accomplished fact in practice.

In addition to Great Britain, Japan is in spirit and politics in communion with Hitler Germany, the spearhead of anti-Soviet forces on the western front. The Paris journal *Oeuvre* writes at the beginning of June that information from reliable sources in Berlin and Tokio has strengthened the conviction in Geneva that Germany and Japan are on the brink of a military alliance. With the weaken-

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ing of his internal position through "Bloody Saturday", Hitler will feel even more pressingly the urge to divert the attention and energy of the country to a foreign war. It is also important to note that less than three days after Hitler's liquidation of the Roehm revolt, the trade war against Britain was withdrawn and that country was made the only exception to the German moratorium on the Dawes and Young Plan debts. A London dispatch to the *New York Times*, dated July 5, says in regard to Britain's part in Hitler's "victory" over Roehm and Company:

> "Official quarters here express the belief that the German industrialists never favored a policy that would have led to a disastrous trade war with Britain. German business leaders, it is declared, insisted upon a settlement and upon the expansion of German trade which the settlement might bring. It is asserted here that the business leaders brought pressure upon Chancellor Hitler to modify his foreign debt policy as well as many other purely Nazi doctrines in last week-end's bloody purge."

Thus the "bloody purge" of the Nazi rulers must have greatly tended to strengthen Britain's relationship with fascist Germany. However, the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the inherent weakness of the position of Great Britain may force the latter, in the present welter of inter-imperialist contradictions, to resort to certain maneuvers which may give the appearance of a softening toward the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the day may not be far off when John Bull will drive his two wild horses, Hitler Germany and Mikado Japan, in war against the Socialist fatherland.

Of course, before the opening of hostilities, the imperialists would do their best to consolidate and strengthen the anti-Soviet front. Thus the *Public Ledger* of London, an important financial journal, recently revealed that an attempt has been made by Japan to involve Turkey in a military alliance. It disclosed that the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs invited the Turkish Ambassador to Tokio in the beginning of March and, after assuring his guests that a Russo-Japanese war will break out not later than in 1935, Mr. Hirota requested the Turkish Ambassador to propose to his government a secret treaty with Japan. The proposal was again made by the Japanese Admiral Matsusima who went to Angora for that specific purpose. The proposal suggested to Turkey the invasion of Soviet Caucasus, in exchange for concessions in the nature of territorial compensations to Turkey. The proposal also included a Japanese offer to "sell" Turkey a number of warships for use in the Bosphorus, supposedly to defend it against a Soviet attack.

Aside from Turkey, Japan also has the United States in view. Wilfrid Fleisher, *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent in

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Tokio, reported on June 21 that according to authoritative information, "Japan is willing to conclude an arbitration or non-aggression pact with the United States to remove possible danger of conflict . . . but would oppose its extension to include other Far Eastern nations or Powers interested in the Far East, which would give it the character of a pan-Pacific non-aggression pact". Whether Japan will succeed in its attempt to involve the United States in a definite treaty, is open to question; but it is an admitted fact that the Roosevelt government has been very conciliatory to Japan. Not only did the April 17 statement of Japan, which openly repudiated the Nine-Power Treaty, not meet with any vigorous protest from the United States, but Chiang Kai-Shek's flirtations with Japan are tacitly approved by American advisors in Nanking. The still doubtful, hesitant attitude of Washington toward the Soviet Union and its tolerance of Japanese aggression in the Far East are clearly calculated to foster a war between Japan and the Soviet Union, thus attempting to ease American imperialism's contradiction with Japan. Besides this general attitude, American capitalists have a special material interest in Japan's war preparations. The *Demp Chusin* correspondent in Washington reports that on the basis of official figures from U. S. port authorities, Japan bought in April more arms and military equipment in America than any other country. It is stated that war materials to a total value of $7,999,000 were exported from America to Japan during that month.

THE UNITED STATES AND ANTI-SOVIET WAR PREPARATIONS

The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States represent two distinct socio-economic systems inherently antagonistic to each other determines the fundamental tendency in their relations to each other. When, at times, certain of their objectives in foreign relations coincide for different reasons, there may be a temporary harmony of action, but such harmony can only be limited to certain definite objectives. Those who talk about a durable Soviet-American alliance against Japan have misunderstood the nature of this relationship. The United States, while professing peaceful intentions and talking about Soviet-American friendship, will not lose a single opportunity to encourage Japanese provocation against the Soviet Union.

In fact, in equiping Chiang Kai-Shek for the anti-Communist campaigns, of which the sixth is now raging in south central China, American imperialism is engaged in open war with the forces of Soviet revolution in the Far East. There are people who argue that airplanes and ammunition are sold to China by private concerns purely as commercial ventures. But these people forget that muni-

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tions cannot be shipped from the United States to any foreign country without the consent of the State Department. Besides, to consider such an effective instrument of war as the airplane purely as an object of commerce and thus to rule out its political character is sophistry. Moreover, a part of these airplanes and munitions is bought with American loans, such as the wheat and cotton loan advanced to China through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, while another part is shipped to China on long-term credit. The whole business amounts to an American subsidy of Chiang Kai-Shek. Furthermore, working under the leadership of Arthur Young, a Wall Street man, and advisor to the Chinese Ministry of Finance, literally hundreds of American advisors infest the various departments of the Chinese government. Thus, Wall Street bankers, munition manufacturers, investors, importers, exporters, and manufacturers—all those who share subsequently in the Chinese trade, contribute to keep Chiang Kai-Shek, the representative of Chinese landlords and comprodore capitalists, in power.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Following the United States policy of toleration of Japanese aggression in the Far East, Chiang Kai-Shek has retreated step by step before the Japanese advance and has followed a consistent policy of capitulation toward Japan since the Manchurian crisis in 1931. The Tang-Ku agreement which ended the Jehol crisis in 1932 practically gave Japan as many privileges as she enjoyed in Manchuria before September, 1931. The chairman of the political commission, appointed by the Nanking government to North China, is a notorious pro-Japanese by the name of Huang Fai. The April 17 statement of Japan which declared China a protectorate of Japan met with a feeble answer from the Nanking government, which not only contains no vigorous direct protest but merely repeats irrelevant platitudes about international friendship and peace. In the new tariff schedule worked out by the Nanking government, great advantages were accorded to Japan. According to a special cable to the *New York Times*, dated July 6, "cotton products, sea foods, sugar and beer from Japan have an immense advantage under the new rates". The cable states further that "the freighters of three Japanese shipping lines are doubling their sailings from the Japanese ports to Shanghai and enormous cargoes are already afloat". Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that a number of Japanese advisors have recently flocked to Nanking, that the Japanese propaganda of a closer relationship between China and Japan because of their kinship in race and culture has recently been echoed in leading Kuo-

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mintang circles. It is also significant to note that, following the example of Japan, the Nanking government has rejected Moscow's suggestion for a non-aggression pact. *Amidst the roaring guns of the sixth anti-Communist campaign, Chiang Kai-Shek and his clique are consciously preparing for the war against the Soviet Union under Japan's direction.* Anti-Japanese sentiment was so strong in China that Chiang Kai-Shek was forced to hide his real attitude behind a cloak of empty anti-Japanese verbiage. But the adage that crime will out clearly applies to the present situation. Chiang Kai-Shek's capitulation to Japan has already reached such a degree that it can no longer be hidden. There is every reason to believe that when war breaks out between the Soviet Union and Japan, Chiang Kai-Shek will be digging his own grave by making such a move. But he will make the move nonetheless: It is a traitor's fate!

THE DIVISION OF CHINA AND THE U. S. POLICY

In the meantime, Japan is carrying on a campaign to consolidate its position in Manchuria, to put Eastern Mongolia and North China more firmly under its control, and to force a military occupation of Outer Mongolia. The preliminaries of the Naval Conference scheduled for next year have already revealed that Japan will use the Conference as a bargaining point for a higher naval ratio as well as for political concessions in the Far East. On June 11, the *Central China Post* at Shanghai printed an interview with Ho Tsing-Yu, member of the Peiping War Council, who admits that "The entire eastern section of Inner Mongolia has been virtually annexed by the Japanese, whose next move will be the seizure of the western part". On the same day, the *Tientsin Yu Shih Pai*, a leading North China daily published by the Catholic Church, stated that Japan plans shortly to seize Chahar and Suiyan, two provinces in Inner Mongolia, and to set up a Great Moslem State to include the northwestern provinces of China. Despite the fact that the province is still known as Chinese territory, Japan has opened customs houses in eastern Chahar and has placed all governmental institutions under its control. The far-reaching plan of Japan to establish a puppet power in North China is revealed by Hallett Abend in a letter to the *New York Times* printed July 8, which states that a plot is gradually being hatched to organize a North China State, perhaps with Pu-Yi at its head, a prototype of Manchukuo south of the Great Wall.

Engaged in a race with Japan for a share of the spoils in the partitioning of China are England, France, and the United States. Aside from maintaining its sphere of interest in the Yangtze Valley

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and in Kwangtung through Japanese assistance, Great Britain is intriguing to penetrate still further in Tibet and Sinkiang and Yunnan provinces. The former Dalai Lama, notoriously known as an agent of the British, ruled Tibet for years before his recent death. Great Britain is taking advantage of his death and the chaos created by the struggle over succession, to increase its hold on Tibet. A London dispatch to the *Moscow Daily News*, dated June 7, states that three sons and four associates of Lun Shar, the former commander-in-chief of the Tibetan army and well-known Anglophile, were arrested in Tibet, charged with plotting to place Lun Shar at the head of the Tibetan government. About the same time, the American mouthpiece in Shanghai, *China Press*, reports that a decision to establish an "Eastern-Turkestan Empire" with its capital in Kashpar, has been adopted after a series of conferences between the British agent, Sheldrake, and various Moslem representatives. Sheldrake, the self-styled "King of Sinkiang" (Chinese Turkestan) who is now residing in the foreign legation quarters in Peiping, is supported by the Second East India Company, a British firm which has large business interests in South Sinkiang. From India, through Tibet and Sinkiang, there is no mistaking what the British imperialists have in mind. Not only will a gate be opened through which the British army could march to the Soviet border, but British control of the two regions also contributes to cut off Soviet China from the Soviet Union. Recently the leading Chinese newspaper at Shanghai, *Shun Pao*, published an official communication from the Yunnan provincial authorities to the effect that British troops have invaded the southern part of Yunnan province and are attacking the Bando region. Meanwhile, France is pushing from the southeast into Yunnan and carrying out systematically its plan to add Yunnan to the map of Indo-China. The U. S. A., not having a defined sphere of interest in China, is proceeding on a grand scale by bringing under its influence and direction the apparatus of the Central government at Nanking. Nanking is providing a splendid market for American airplanes, poison gas, and other kinds of ammunition, as well as a dumping ground for surplus wheat and cotton. By implanting itself firmly in the Central government, American imperialism hopes some day to crowd the other Powers out of China and convert the country into a Yankee India, or, if this proves impossible, to use its control of the Central government as a bargaining point for the lion's share in the division of the spoils. Those who naively believe that America's late entry into the scramble for concessions and its advocacy of the Open Door policy commit American imperialism to stand for an independent and united China fail to understand the rudiments of imperialist politics. Not a liberated and united China, but as large a

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share of an enslaved China as it can seize, is the objective that American imperialism has in China.

COUNTERACTING FORCES AGAINST WAR DANGER

The struggle for partitioning China and the capitalist animosity against the Socialist Republic are the main source of war in the Far East. But the Marxist teaching that war is inherent in the capitalist socio-economic set-up, should by no means be understood in a fatalistic sense. It lies in the power of the progressive forces in society, the workers, farmers, and all oppressed groups and nationalities, to set counteracting influences in motion and fight to prevent war, or, at least, to postpone the coming of war. There are three such counteracting forces in the Far East today. First, the revolutionary peace policy of the Soviet Union, which is made increasingly effective by the successful construction of Socialism. Repeated imperialist provocations have been exposed and rendered ridiculous. Through the instrument of negotiation for non-aggression pacts, Japan and Kuomintang China were forced to admit their war policy against the Soviet Union. The success of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, the economic development of Eastern Siberia, the firm determination of the Soviet workers and farmers to defend every inch of Soviet territory, the growing prestige of the Soviet Union abroad, and the tremendous growth of the forces for the defense of the Soviet Union, have instilled fear and hesitancy in the hearts of the imperialists. The second counteracting force is Soviet China and the Chinese Red Army. Extending over a territory as large as France, Soviet China exercises a far greater influence in the politics of the Far East than its size indicates. It is the beginning of the regeneration of China and a great Soviet Republic. Its existence in the heart of China makes the imperialists think twice before they muster up enough courage to attack the Soviet Union. The Chinese Red Army, which is 350,000 strong in the regular, and 600,000 in the irregular units, has grown up in the heat of struggles against enemies far superior in numbers and equipment. Chiang Kai-Shek's six campaigns not only did not crush the Red forces, but even failed to check their growth. If we consider the Far Eastern situation as a whole, the Chinese Red Army is not only the spearhead of the Chinese Revolution, it is also a defender of the Soviet Union, an important factor in keeping the imperialist powers from attacking the Soviet Union.

The third counteracting force is the armed guerilla warfare against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar, and

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North China. The Japanese authorities and their agents in these regions are doing their utmost to minimize the strength and extent of this movement, but the meager information that has leaked out tells us much that is significant. The Shanghai *Shun Pao* reported on June 3 that over 1,000 armed Koreans and Chinese are operating in the eastern parts of the Kirin and Mukden provinces, and that twenty Japanese soldiers were killed and twenty-five wounded. On June 26 *Shun Pao* again reported that, having become more and more discontented with their Japanese officers, two squadrons of Manchurian cavalry stationed near Malanyu, to the northeast of Peiping, mutinied. The organization of anti-Japanese volunteers, consisting largely of militant peasants and workers, and the growing discontent of the soldiers, constitute a very important factor that prevents the Japanese imperialists from consolidating their control of Manchuria and from advancing further toward Eastern Si Noia and North China.

The last, but not the least, counteracting force is the revolutionary anti-war movement throughout the world, which, under proletarian leadership, is becoming a powerful instrument against war and is haunting the imperialist dreams of conquest and glory. The war-mongers know very well that without the support of the population, they cannot launch a counter-revolutionary war, but their attempts to instill the poison of war psychology are being countered by a powerful anti-toxin in the anti-war movement. The growing anti-fascist sentiment also has been organized and further strengthened by being linked up with the question of imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union. The movement against war and fascism is fast becoming a great mass force that must effectively check the capitalist drive toward war.

In the United States one of the greatest dangers confronting the anti-war movement is the illusion to be met with, even in the ranks of the revolutionary workers and farmers, about a Soviet-U. S. alliance or war against Japan. The point which needs to be greatly emphasized is, as this article explained at the outset, that, while there is the possibility of temporary coincidence of the two diametrically opposed policies of the Soviet Union and the United States as regards Japan, such a coincidence can in no way be a durable alliance. The policy of the U. S. S. R. is first and at all times anti-imperialist, proletarian-internationalist—the Socialist force for peace. The policy of American capitalism is predatory-imperialist—the reactionary force for war. The fundamental policy of the United States is and will always be anti-Soviet, and, either before, during or immediately after a war with Japan, the American ruling class will always attempt to turn the war against the Soviet Union, no matter what part the

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United States will play in the first stages of the war. Hence, we must guard against confusing the anti-war movement in connection with the Far East situation in any way with the chauvinist anti-Japanese movement fostered by American imperialist interests. At the same time, we must not for a moment relax our vigilance in exposing the true nature of U. S. war policy and war preparation. We must spare no effort in making the masses understand that a chauvinistic anti-Japanese war can be easily turned into a chauvinistic anti-Soviet war by the ruling class. The class nature of our anti-war policy must under no circumstances be befuddled, compromised, or evaded. Utmost clarity in this regard is absolutely essential. Anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism must be our solid guide in the struggle against war and fascism in the Far East in general, and against Japanese imperialism in particular.

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The United Farmers League Convention

By JOHN BARNETT

THE First National Convention of the United Farmers League, held in Minneapolis, on June 22-25, laid the basis for the consolidation of the U.F.L. organizationally. It revealed fine new forces. However, there were many weaknesses in the convention and in the past work of the League. These show us the important tasks which lie ahead and the problems to be solved if the League is to go forward properly in the forefront of the farmers' struggles.

The convention brought together 109 regular, and 48 fraternal delegates from 14 States. The National Secretary reported that the U.F.L. has organization in 18 States. It began in western North Dakota in 1923 under the name of the United Farmers Educational League. There are locals as far east as New York and New Jersey and as far west as California. It has a wide influence. The proved correctness of the basic line of the U.F.L., and its leadership of many struggles in the interests of the toiling farmers, make it not only the recognized ideological leader of the Left-Wing farmers' movement, but of thousands of impoverished farmers over the country.

However, this influence has never been well consolidated organizationally. The U.F.L. has generally consisted of loose bodies, functioning irregularly and without accurate records of membership. This condition is also characteristic of other Left-Wing farmers' organizations. A change began about six months ago when the national office of the U.F.L. was transferred to Chicago and a really functioning national center was set up.

While the figures of the secretary show only a small beginning, at least the beginning has been made in consolidating the U.F.L. nationally. The secretary reports 1,500 monthly dues-paying members and over 3,000 membership books issued. This does not represent the total membership or include all those who consider themselves members of the U.F.L. The national office has not yet been able to develop steady organizational contact with all sections. It is estimated by the secretary, however, that the membership does

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not yet reach 10,000. The task of putting the whole organization on an efficient functioning basis and of making the League a real mass organization lies ahead.

The U.F.L. alone does not show the full strength of the Left-Wing movement among the farmers. There is the Share Croppers Union of the South. There are other Left-Wing organizations, such as the Nebraska Holiday Association (Madison County Plan), which, while built with the aid of U.F.L. forces, are not yet affiliated to the League and are not counted in its membership. There is also the militant united front movement around the Farmers National Committee for Action.

The progress during the recent period is due to a large degree to the fact that the Communist Party has increasingly stressed the importance of developing the U.F.L. and that we are learning through experience in struggle correct methods of work.

From the standpoint of the tasks facing the U.F.L., the convention preparations were in many respects very inadequate. During the pre-convention period there were insufficient preparations to enable the convention to solve some of its most pressing problems. The Party was not properly mobilized. Discussion of the convention issues was not carried on in our press. The draft program itself was not as thoroughly prepared as it should have been and lacked clarity on a number of questions.

One of the serious weaknesses of the convention was that its preparation did not go on within a rising wave of agrarian struggle, that the preparations did not give rise to such struggles. The objective basis certainly existed for this. The drought relief issue had in no real sense been made a central issue. The U.F.L. had not really taken up this fight on a local or national scale, in spite of the fact that this was a burning problem for the poor farmers over a wide section of the U.F.L. territory. While it was a constructive convention, it was not sufficiently fired with the militancy which recent struggles and the immediate perspective of struggle bring.

A further weakness is the social composition of the movement. The U.F.L. is not yet based upon the poorest strata of farmers. This reflected itself in the less firm grasp and determination with which the delegates seized upon the vital issues. Closely associated with this is the fact that in most of the U.F.L. territory there is no organization of agricultural workers which would serve better to direct the farmers' movement into sharper class struggle activity.

Underlying all this is the general weakness of the Party in the agrarian areas and the lack of proper connection, support, and understanding between the Party sections of the city and the country.

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It is clear that the immediate elimination of these weaknesses is a fundamental problem.

It is a serious shortcoming that there were no Negro farmer delegates, and that there were no Negro or white delegates from the Share Croppers Union, the only Left-Wing farmers' organization firmly based upon the poorest and most exploited farmers. Even though the Share Croppers Union is not affiliated to the U.F.L., a fraternal delegation from the South would have been a very important means of broadening the convention and developing greater solidarity in our struggle and organization.

PROBLEMS OF THE CONVENTION

Besides the organizational questions, among the chief problems confronting the convention were the following specific issues:

The drought, which is the focus for the exposure of the New Deal with its measures of fascization and preparing for war.

The program of the U.F.L., and the necessity for laying a basis for a broad mass organiaztion.

The Farmer-Labor danger, and, closely connected with this, the capitalist-controlled co-operative movement which is continually being brought forward as a way out for the farmers.

The convention did not, however, deal sufficiently and in adequate detail with these questions. It is of prime importance to start a wide educational campaign to further clarify and develop the revolutionary poor farmers' interpretation of these questions.

The drought campaign is the major immediate issue before the U.F.L. However, this cannot be said to have been the thread running throughout the convention. True, it was emphasized in the report of the executive council. Various delegates spoke on the drought situation. The convention adopted a manifesto and agreed upon a campaign which lays a basis for a real struggle. Important suggestions on how to carry on the struggle, and especially the plan for drought relief marches to the State capitols, came from the South Dakota delegation, one of the States most affected by the drought. Still drought relief should have been a sharper issue and more attention should have been given to the situation where literally hundreds of thousands of farmers are destitute. Even Roosevelt is forced to admit that there are 125,000 families which must depend upon outside help if they are to live until 1935. The actual number is much larger.

There are, among others, two factors which help to explain this

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situation. One, since the U.F.L. has not yet based itself upon the poorest sections of the farmers, its members do not feel keenly enough the need for relief for those hardest hit. In various sections there are still rich or large farmer members who attempt to introduce into the League a reformist policy. For instance, in one section the U.F.L. and the Party unit did not want to organize the poorest farmers. The comrades even developed a theory to cover up their opportunist approach by saying that these farmers were "lumpen farmers" comparable to the lumpen proletariat, and it was not necessary to organize them. This shows how deeply bourgeois prejudice and propaganda are entrenched. The idea still hangs on in some places that the better-off farmer who has lost something is a more desirable element than the poor farmer who has little to lose. Another farm organizer said that the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill was a fine bill, the section excluding farmers running their farms mainly by hired labor was good for other sections of the country, but for his section it excluded numerous farmers who should be in the U.F.L. He said that these farmers in his section agreed with everything in the bill except this clause which excluded them for working their farms mainly by hired labor. The organizer, it seems, was somewhat more concerned about the kulak farmer than about the poorest formers who, as a rule, do not hire labor.

Some of our organizers say that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a farmer is a large farmer or an upper middle farmer. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish borderline cases, but this is a rather mechanical and abstract approach to the question. What is necessary is that we first of all fight the battles of the small and poorest farmers, that we be sure that the demands put forward for them and the ruined middle farmers are class struggle demands, and that a real fight is put up for them. The experiences of the class struggle will show who among the farmers are our friends, who take a "neutral" position, and who are our enemies. In another section we find the U.F.L. endorsing a scheme to set up a producers' co-operative. This plan was brought forward by large-farmer elements and was obviously designed in their interests.

Coupled with this lack of proper orientation around the poorest farmers, there is a lack of initiative and leadership in numerous sections. This is not because forces are not there, but because they lack experience and understanding as to how to proceed.

A second factor is the pressure of the illusions among the farmers about getting relief without struggle. Some of the League members and even Party comrades give way to this pressure. One reason for Roosevelt's "relief" plans is to hold back the farmers' fight for real relief. The farmers see a half billion dollars voted by the gov-

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ernment and are somewhat taken in by this. They do not understand clearly that most of this goes to relieve the rich, the landlords, the mortgage holders, and the food trusts, while very little goes to the small and middle farmers. The whole purpose of this is to put through the New Deal plans for saving the big capitalist, both off and on the farms, at the expense of the smaller farmers. They do not understand clearly that the poor get no concessions except what the exploiters are by one way or another forced to give and that it is only through struggle that we can win any relief.

The drought relief campaign becomes a mighty weapon with which to turn the farm movement toward the most exploited section. It becomes the center of the exposure of the New Deal. It is not enough for the U.F.L. to lay excellent plans. All our forces must be brought to bear to make this a real campaign in which we will win real relief. The campaign must be carried to every community of the drought area and to the nation generally. Thousands of local cases, particularly families, and special local demands, must be fought for and won all over the country. The drought relief struggle must be tied up with the general fight for relief and with the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill.

While the campaign for the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill has not been energetically taken up by the U.F.L. locals, this bill has had a real response from the farming masses wherever it was brought before them. They feel that this bill fits their vital needs. Some changes will be needed in order to sharpen it politically. It should particularly be made clearer that the enforcement of relief must be through the farmers' mass strength and not through a government committee apparatus. The widest campaign based upon struggle should be built around it. This will enable us to gain big support and reach many new elements. We must remember that with the proper mobilization we can force such concessions from the capitalist government.

In the fight against the New Deal, the development of fascism, and the war danger, the U.F.L. has consistently taken a correct position. But on many detailed aspects of the A.A.A. and in the fight against the Codes, the crop and acreage reduction plans, and for many specific and local demands centering around these schemes, we have failed to give adequate leadership. We have not come to the aid of the farmers with an adequate detailed analysis of these codes and allotment plans. And much more specific plans both locally and nationally must be worked out in order to make the struggle against war and fascism a daily and steady part of our work.

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THE PROGRAM OF THE U.F.L.

The weaknesses already pointed out show that the Right danger is the outstanding one in the work. The great pressure of Farmer-Labor tendencies also enhances this, as we shall see later. There are also serious remnants of "Left" sectarianism, behind which are grievous Right opportunist mistakes in practice. Only by a continuous fight against all these tendencies, together with patient analysis and explanation shall we be able to keep the movement going in the correct direction, fighting most effectively for the interests of the exploited farmers.

With reference to the program, the question was that of laying a basis for eliminating the "Left" sectarian characteristics of the U.F.L., and thus facilitate the building of the broadest possible class struggle organization. Some delegates wanted the U.F.L. to include the revolutionary way out of the crisis as a part of its program, which the farmer endorses to become a member. But a farmer should not be required to endorse the revolutionary workers' and farmers' government slogan in order to become a member of the League. Nevertheless, this attitude has been characteristic of Party comrades in various sections. In some places this has gone so far that the U.F.L. local has been reduced in size and practically turned into the Party. Some comrades evidently see no necessity for both the Party and the U.F.L.

If we are to have a broad mass movement, we must have a program sufficiently broad so that we can win the exploited farmers of any political belief, or organizational affiliation. The requirement is that they be willing to join with the League to fight with it for the class struggle demands of these farmers.

While the reporter for the program committee presented this position clearly and this was adopted without dissent by the convention, there was scarcely any discussion by the delegates on this vital question. But a number of comrades were not satisfied. We have some real hard-shelled "Leftists", especially in Minnesota. It is clear that if we are to broaden the U.F.L., a consistent fight on this sectarianism must be carried on. It is necessary to begin a campaign of enlightenment on these questions.

It seems that some Party members, when told that we must not hide the face of the Party, take this as license to turn the U.F.L. into Party groups, to make the U.F.L. locals accept the whole Party program. Certainly, we want the Party, its program and leadership in the farmers' struggles to be brought before the farmers. The Communists, in and outside the League, must see that this is done

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and that propaganda for the Party program is carried on in the League. The Communists must show by their leadership and participation in the daily struggles that the Party is genuinely fighting for the fundamental interests of the poor farmers. But certainly our comrades must learn how to explain to the farmers the difference between the U.F.L. and the Party.

In this connection, the Farmer-Labor influence penetrates into the ranks of the Party. Some of our comrades actually in practice begin to build a farmers' party. Under pressure of the demagogy and radical phrase-mongering of the Farmer-Laborites, they feel the necessity to "out-radical" these "radicals". They feel compelled to go much further in the U.F.L. program than the present class struggle program. They correctly feel that it is necessary to meet the farmers' desire for a way out. Understanding that most of these farmers are not yet ready to support openly the Communist Party, these comrades try to present them with a watered Party program through the U.F.L. Instead of drawing the support of these farmers directly behind the Party as such, they tend to create a farmers' party out of the League. Such League locals tend to take their work out in shouting for the revolution, while neglecting the daily struggles for the immediate needs of the poor farmers. Although these comrades would immediately deny such a thing, there nevertheless lurks in this approach a fear of coming openly to the farmers with the Party.

These comrades should explain and show the Party's role as leader of the revolutionary way out, should show how it is necessary to have a Communist Party which goes beyond the immediate program of the League. They should answer the pressure of the Farmer-Laborites by launching concrete struggle and concrete exposure of the farmer-labor parties, explaining their class basis and class interests. This involves the explanation of the hegemony of the working class led by the Party, its advance-guard.

They should begin to build the League on a much broader basis, drawing in many new elements, farmers who are not revolutionary in outlook but who do want to do something about their immediate grievances. The League must reach masses of farmers whom it has never reached before, who have never before followed its leadership.

The League is clearly differentiated from all reformist organizations in that it is based upon the class struggle for the burning needs of the poorest, small, and middle farmers; in that it fights against the capitalists and large farmers, and stands for solidarity with the workers of the country and city. These are the essential points.

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THE SOCIAL-FASCIST DANGER

The convention as a whole did not expose sharply the Farmer-Labor and "Progressive" misleaders. A new renegade paper, *The Militant Farmer*, published in Minneapolis, which came out with the slogan "Let Langer Linger Longer in Bismark", was very weakly shown up at the convention. Farmer-Labor tendencies are very strong. From among the North Dakota delegation came favorable comment concerning Governor Langer. We have had serious difficulty with the North Dakota comrades; first, in their strenuous objection to the exposure of Langer by the *Farmers National Weekly*, and most of all, in getting them to carry on a real exposure in North Dakota. The comrades used some inaccuracies in an article in the *Farmers National Weekly* as an excuse to oppose the general showing up of Langer's reformist misleadership. They want to give him credit for helping the poor farmer—"the devil should be given his due". Yes, more paint to the camouflage! We will tear off his mask, show how any concessions or relief given by such reformists is forced from them, is used, not where most needed, but to further their own political ends, and as sops to head off struggle, to destroy the militant character, the fighting spirit of the U.F.L. It is inexcusable that in the State where the U.F.L. had its birth, our comrades allow some smooth talker and politician to gain prestige by holding back from actively exposing him. How can the U.F.L. successfully head the farmers' struggles, if these betrayers are not ruthlessly exposed?

The comrades of Minnesota are greatly harrassed by the demagogy of Olson who speaks about himself as a Red. Some farmers are firmly convinced that he is a Communist. Our comrades seem inclined to try to expose him by trying to talk more "revolutionary", and by trying to turn the U.F.L. into a super Farmer-Labor party. What is necessary is an exposure in deeds, an exposure through struggle for the immediate needs of the poor farmers, an exposure through the concrete experiences of the poor farmers. Such an exposure of Olson and the Farmer-Laborites will destroy their influence, because in deeds Olson most viciously lowers the conditions of the impoverished farmers and workers. It is possible in this way to show the class character and class interests of these misleaders.

The policies of the U.F.L. in regard to the co-operatives received almost no clarification on the convention floor. However, all over the country from East to West this question continually crops up. A main tactic of the Roosevelt government to drive the farmers under the control of the banks and trusts is the establish-

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ment of co-operatives. The U.F.L. cannot take upon itself the task of organizing co-operatives. Its main task is to fight the immediate battles of the farmers. It cannot divert its main forces from this. Whenever co-operatives are formed, the U.F.L., in line with its policy, will fight in the interests of the small and middle farmers in these co-operatives against the misleaders and the big farmer and banker control. When co-operatives are actually in the hands of the small farmers or workers, when they throw their support to the working class struggle, the U.F.L. can naturally give more support to them. However, the co-operative movement cannot solve the farmers' problems. Much more clarification must be given in our press on the role of the capitalist-controlled co-operatives, the role of the working class co-operatives, and the relation and policies of the U.F.L. to them.

BUILDING THE PARTY AND DEVELOPING FORCES

All of these questions show the vital necessity of building the Party in the countryside, as the guiding influence of the U.F.L. Only in this way shall we accomplish the tasks before us. Only by mobilizing the Party shall we be able to make the drought campaign a success. Only by consolidating the Party shall we be able to connect the rural struggles properly with the revolutionary movement of the city proletariat. The industrial sections must be made to understand the importance of the work in the rural areas, by workers from the city going systematically to visit and help the farmers in their fight.

The training of U.F.L. organizers and leading cadres is a most pressing problem. At the convention were fine forces, many still politically raw, but able to develop. Plans have already been made for the School on Wheels for farm organizers to make several stops in the U.F.L. territory, first of all in the drought area. The success of this work, the raising of the political level of our farm organizers, is a key question for us at this time. The leading and most class-conscious farmers from the local territories must be drawn into the school. The responsibility for the success of this work rests upon the Party.

Due to the pressure of other business, insufficient time was allowed at the convention for the presentation of the *Farmers National Weekly* campaign. Neither did this campaign receive enough attention in the speeches of the delegates. The convention did recognize, however, the importance of building the *F.N.W.* as a major task along with the daily work of the U.F.L. The building of the *Farmers National Weekly* as the ideological leader of the farmers'

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movement is of prime importance for us if we are to bring the proper clarity into the movement. By this means a fundamental working class interpretation and explanation can be given of the daily questions which the farmers are facing. Not only the U.F.L. membership but the whole Party must be aroused to much greater activity in circulating the *F.N.W.* and in promoting a consciousness of the importance of the paper and other literature.

The recent convention showed the possibilities of building a powerful mass movement around the U.F.L. We must now mobilize our whole forces behind the immediate struggle for drought relief and against the New Deal in all its phases.

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The Veterans in the Struggle Against Fascism and Imperialist War

By EMANUEL LEVIN

ON THE eve of the 20th anniversary of the World War, the International des Anciens Combattants (International of Veterans)—I.A.C.—through its chairman, Henri Barbusse, calls on the veterans of the world to join in the struggle against war and fascism. This call announces the convening of the Seventh International Congress of the I.A.C., which will be held in Brussels on July 29, 1934.

The call points out that the Congress

> " . . . will study particularly, aside from the sacrifice of the maimed and disabled of the war, their parents and children, the developing imperialist war and fascism and the redoubled efforts incumbent upon us for the united struggle of all workers against these two plagues.
>
> "Today, 20 years after the declaration of war, the voice of the survivors is raised more strongly and powerfully than ever. . . .
>
> "And today, after the most terrible of wars, we are on the eve of one that will be more terrible.
>
> "Just as between the people of the world two broad currents have been formed, that of the enslavers and their tools, and that of the liberators, a like separation has taken place between the men who escaped the massacres of 1914-1918. The International des Anciens Combattants has brought together all those who fight against war in a logical and loyal manner, by fighting against reaction and imperialism, the fomentors of war, by fighting for the establishment of a better society, a society of work, peace and justice."

We must answer this call. We must ask ourselves, how are the veterans in the United States now participating in the international struggle against war and fascism? How can we bring the veterans more effectively into the struggle against war and fascism?

In order to understand how to win over in a broad united front to the side of the militant working masses the veterans, who represent 10 per cent of the electorate and with their families reach close to 20-30 per cent of the population, it is necessary:

1. To analyze the development by the American bourgeoisie of its Stahlhelm, the *American Legion* and *Veterans of Foreign Wars*, and

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the use of these by the bourgeoisie as one of the instruments for preventing the workers from putting up any kind of organized resistance to the imperialist war policy.

2. To expose the social-chauvinist influences, the "sophistries and catch-phrases", and the development of fascist forms within the ranks of the veterans.

3. To analyze the reaction of the veterans to these plans of the bourgeoisie.

Basing ourselves on these, we can put forward a definite and concrete program for winning over the masses of the veterans for the revolutionary struggle against war and fascism.

THE AMERICAN LEGION—THE STAHLHELM OF AMERICAN FINANCE CAPITAL

The resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International on the struggle against imperialist war points out the following in relation to the veterans:

> "The bourgeoisie is taking measures to prevent the workers from putting up any kind of organized resistance to their war policy. . . .
>
> "On the other hand, the unofficial armies of the type of the Stahlhelm in Germany . . . pursue the aim of strike-breaking and forcible suppression of the workers, not only in time of war, but also in the period of war preparations." *

In France, even before the American soldiers were demobilized, the bourgeoisie prepared for control of the veterans when they should return home. The official *History of the American Legion* shows that the policy of the Legion was to organize and control the returning soldiers. The author points out that for the first time it was noted that the spirit for revolution appeared in the ranks of the English-speaking soldiers. He cited as an example the "Winnipeg Soviets" (the fact that war veterans participated in the Winnipeg general strike).

Immediately on the return of the soldiers, the American Legion posts were subsidized throughout the country by the war profiteers. Legion posts were organized in all major and basic industries and establishments. These were given meeting places and every facility for carrying on their activities. The wives were formed into auxiliaries, and now the sons of the veterans are being organized. World War nurses formed independent posts or were admitted into mem-

* *The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists* —Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, p. 5. Workers Library Publishers, five cents.

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bership in various posts. At the same time Negro veterans were immediately set up into Jim-Crow posts.

While they are being built up as "unofficial" armies, these organizations are used as brakes on the demands of the rank-and-file veterans for pensions and relief.

Throughout the country their slogan was on all signboards: "*We serve in peace as in war.*"

On National Defense Day in 1928, the American Legion posts were organized in every State. They had infantry units as well as air units. Their lobby in Washington is rated as one of the most efficient and powerful. It is the supporter of all measures for increased armaments, and, together with the powder and war chemical lobby, is credited with being the cause for the Senate vote against a treaty which would have brought the United States into an international agreement outlawing the use of chemical gases during war. In nearly every major strike the officers of the American Legion deputized their most backward elements. In mass demonstrations where conflicts arose against the government these officers were again brought into line with the forces of "law and order".

The American Legion commanders devote most of their time and efforts in countrywide tours to a continuous attack upon the Soviet Union. These tours were carried out through joint cooperation of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor with Hamilton Fish, arch enemy of veterans' relief legislation. At the same time, one of the national vice-commanders pinned the emblem of the American Legion on the breast of Mussolini and attended the International Convention of Fascists in Vienna. The membership of the American Legion is estimated at over 750,000.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

The Veterans of Foreign Wars (V.F.W.) was organized in 1899, immediately after the Spanish-American War, and has about a quarter of a million members. It comes forward more demagogically for the immediate demands of the veterans than does the American Legion. It passed resolutions for the repeal of the Economy Act and for the immediate payment of the "Bonus". It carries on no mass struggle for the demands of the veterans, but depends on "regular procedure" through individual lobbying in Washington. Not to be outdone in their services to the "fatherland", they carry on a program of organizing "disintegrating and counter-irritant" groups within the radical groups; in other words, "intelligence and provocateur" groups.

The bourgeoisie realizes that large sections of the veterans cannot be held permanently under such openly reactionary leadership

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as the American Legion. The V.F.W. is, therefore, used as a means of taking up this "slack". Through their demagogic phrases they recruit some of the veterans who drop out of the Legion. The V.F.W. leadership, like that of the American Legion, plays a faithful role in support of American imperialism.

Further to prepare and to hold the veterans on the side of imperialism, 30,000 veterans are sent into the C.C.C. to "season" them for war and to set them up as "leaders" (non-commissioned officers) of the youth in the regular C.C.C.

As a final action of fully preparing these organizations for participating in the war preparations, the last Congress voted 75,000 rifles for use by these veterans' organizations on the pretext that they are to be employed for military ceremonies, funerals, parades, etc.

SOPHISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE VETERANS

Lenin pointed out the danger of sophistries and catchwords by which the bourgeoisie and social-democracy try to justify war. He pointed out that the war "turned opportunism into social-chauvinism; it changed the alliance of the opportunists with the bourgeoisie from a secret to an open one".

The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern re-emphasized the need "to expose in proper time the sophistries and catchwords by which the bourgeoisie and social-democracy try to justify war".

The bourgeoisie is at work with its social-chauvinism and sophism within the ranks of the veterans and the workers as a whole. The Socialist Party is betraying itself as an ally of the leaders of the various veteran organizations.

The *National Tribune*, the oldest veteran publication in the United States, devoted its main editorials on June 7 to exposing the fact that the fortunes of American financiers come directly from the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War, and as a "corrective" it proposes to "take profits out of wars". The relevant passage reads:

> "History shows that the instigators of war, in many cases, are those who profit. With the profit taken out of war those interests will be less prone to send the flower of our youth into battle to be killed or maimed."

To any class-conscious worker this is a flagrant piece of trickery to spread the propaganda of a "better kind" of war.

But the *New Leader* of June 6, 1934, printed on its front page an article signed "By a Veteran" which lauds this article in the *National Tribune*. It states:

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> "After making due allowance for the emphasis placed upon the necessity of 'adequate preparedness' . . . the fact remains that the publication of this and many similar editorials in the leading ex-servicemen's paper of the United States shows that many of the veterans' leaders now occupy nearly the same position as the Socialists regarding the causes of modern wars.
>
> "I advise every one of our open-air speakers to . . . get a copy of the issue of June 7."

What are some of these "similar editorials" in praise of which the *New Leader* offers its columns?

We refer our readers to some of the other "similar editorials" which the article in the *New Leader* so highly commends.

The *Foreign Service*, official organ of the V.F.W., presents the following editorial in its July issue:

> "THE HAPPY MEDIUM
>
> "Members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States believe there is a happy medium between a policy of pacifism and the militaristic view of those who would profit in some way from the business of war.
>
> "This organization will never give its endorsement to any movement that deliberately or indirectly seeks to incite armed conflicts. Neither will it lend its approval to any policies that would leave this nation and its people helpless and unprepared *in the face of a serious emergency*." (Italics ours—E.L.)

We draw attention to the emphasized phrase to indicate the sly loop-holes through which these "anti-war" demagogues intend to slip in their support of imperialism.

Here is exactly what Lenin meant when he so sharply and effectively exposed social-chauvinism and sophist catch-phrases.

The Socialist Party of America has made no comment on the article appearing in the *New Leader*. In this very silence, which means acquiescence, is revealed the collaboration of the Socialist Party with the bourgeoisie, its alliance with the fascist leaders of the United States in the ranks of the veterans.

The real intention of the "Left" socialists under the leadership of Norman Thomas, as regards war, is to be seen from the admission made by Thomas in the *New Leader* for June 16:

> "Our declaration deals with the kind of war that our analysis of facts leads us to expect. If by some miracle there is a wholly different type of war, there will be plenty of time in the light of Socialist principles to change our position."

What does this mean, if not a loop-hole for smuggling in the support of American imperialism on the pretense that the next may be "a wholly different type of war"?

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With such phrases and such alignments, the leaders of the American Legion and of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, aided by the Socialist Party leadership, are disarming the masses and leaving them unprepared for a revolutionary struggle against war.

THE VETERANS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The development of fascism is an integral part of the war preparations. The bourgeoisie sees that there are 3,000,000 unorganized and unattached veterans in addition to those in the government-controlled veteran organizations. Close to 2,000,000 of these are unemployed. These must be "controlled".

The revolt of the veterans against the leadership of reactionary veteran organizations, as indicated in the Bonus March, not only marked the beginning of an independent movement of the rank and file of the veterans in the various bourgeois veteran organizations, but also exposed the plans of forming these into fascist bands or at least using them as a base for such bands.

The Khaki Shirts formed out of this march soon became fertile soil for Nazi machinations. Count Kurt von Ludtke, the Nazi press representative in the United States, soon made contacts with the leaders of these groups. While in the main they failed to turn the Khaki Shirt outfits into Nazi organizations, they nevertheless helped in the incorporation of the American Nationalists. Walter W. Waters, of the 1932 Bonus March, acted as its figurehead. This organization, for want of immediate support, remains only on paper. The Khaki Shirt group of Art Smith was an independent movement and had no connection with the Khaki Shirts formed in Washington, but it is, nevertheless, an indication of the line of approach in mobilizing veterans for fascism. In every such movement, as in the Silver Shirts, the veterans are brought in as a support.

These are only the incipient efforts of the bourgeoisie in its program to win over the veterans for war and fascism.

Together with this plan of actual fascist groups among the unattached veterans, the bourgeoisie is fostering to a very marked degree the nationalist spirit which is one of the characteristics of developing fascism.

President Roosevelt, in his attack on the veterans, with the full support of the Republicans as well as the Democrats, expresses the sentiments of monopoly capital. The appeal to the veterans and the masses as a whole is on the basis of patriotism. It has become so effective in some cases that groups of veterans, not very large groups, have a feeling that the government, "their" government, would suffer greatly if they were to be paid their Bonus now; if

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they maintained in force the favorable veteran legislation which they themselves have won through bitter struggles.

RADICALIZATION OF THE VETERANS

What has been the reaction of the veterans to this steady program of betrayals and social-chauvinist influences in their ranks? In spite of the patriotic camouflage created around all veteran activities, the veterans, like all other sections of the masses affected by the bitter aftermath of the World War, have carried on militant actions, and a steady process of radicalization has developed within their ranks.

The existence of a series of laws providing not only for those veterans who were able to prove that their injuries or disabilities were caused directly by the war, but laws known as disability allowance laws, which provided for relief of all disabled veterans, indicates the steady pressure that the rank and file has exerted on all sessions of Congress since the World War.

The passage of the "Bonus" Bill, which is in reality an adjustment of the war-time pay of the veterans, came only after a long and bitter struggle by the rank-and-file veterans. The fight for its immediate payment, instead of its payment in 1945, was brought to its highest point in the historic Bonus March of 1932.

These are the general indications of the veterans' struggles against the government. However, these were yet largely disconnected with the general struggles of the masses.

UNITY WITH THE MASSES

In 1930, with the formation of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, we see the first signs during this crisis of the alignment organizationally of a section of the veterans with the working class movement, coordinating their struggles and demands with those of the masses as a whole. The deepening of the crisis which affected the millions of veterans themselves, the agitation for relief, the wage cutting in industry, the allotment of billions of dollars to the same bankers and industrialists who were attacking the veterans and their pensions, created the necessary favorable base for winning over the veterans to unity with the masses in actual struggle.

Beginning with 1930, we see veterans in the front lines of May Day demonstrations. War veterans and the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League become active in the support of the Communist Party. The Communist Party comes forward in the election campaigns for the demands of the veterans. When, in 1932, the representatives of the W.E.S.L., testifying before the Ways and Means Committee, called for the march of the veterans to Washington, it awakened

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a general feeling for action, for motion in the direction of Washington, "their" government, to demand their *"Bonus"*.

Even on this march, the mention of "worker" or of the unemployed meant attacks by the special military police set up by the Waters group who were controlled by the administration, through the demagogy of Glassford, then Chief of Police in Washington.

However, within the following six months we see the first united front between the radical and the conservative elements among the rank and file of the veterans. Former members and officers of the B.E.F. and Khaki Shirts, together with the representatives of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, formed the Veterans National Liaison Committee. In May, 1933, about 5,000 veterans from every part of the United States were again assembled in Washington and in May, 1934, about 1,500 were massed together once more in a united front program. Their program now is unity with the unemployed and the farmers. The queston of the "Reds", the Communist Party, when raised, was settled on the principle of the right of every veteran to hold whatever political opinion he desires. Communist Party representatives are invited to speak along with representatives from all other political parties. Members of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other veteran organizations sit jointly in united front committees with W.E.S.L. members. Negro and white veterans sit together in committees. Even in the first Bonus March there was comparatively little evidence of white chauvinism practiced in the various billets; but in 1934, unity of Negro and white veterans was one of the political characteristics of the Convention. (This does not mean that within the ranks of the veterans white chauvinism has been completely eliminated.) Finally, the Convention went on record against war and fascism.

In the recent strikes, as in Minneapolis, we see that the officials of the American Legion cannot so easily deputize its members for strike activities. The commander of the Fifth District of the Legion officially stated that he could not deputize his membership because to do so was against the Constitution of the American Legion. It took him two days to give this answer. The reason was quite simple; the men refused to be deputized.

Last May Day in New York, the officers of the Veterans of Foreign Wars were forced to call off their counter-demonstration against the Communist Party because, as they had to admit, they could not mobilize enough of their members for that purpose.

These are only a few of the indications of the growing solidarity within the ranks of the bourgeois-controlled veteran organizations. In the 1934 Veterans Rank-and-File Convention in Washington, it was the unattached who came out most strongly for the unemployed

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and farmers as against a program limited to specific veteran demands.

Such organized actions, though carried through by a small and ill-prepared massing of veterans in Washington, indicate, however, the general tendency toward united action around the most common demands of the masses today. They mark the development of revolt on the part of the rank and file in bourgeois veteran organizations.

THE DANGER OF SECTARIANISM

However, while these very favorable objective conditions exist, we must note that there is still in the ranks of the even more class-conscious elements within the veteran movements, the serious danger of sectarianism. The approach to the united front with the members of the veterans of the officer-controlled organizations is being hindered by "Leftist" tendencies of refusing to work together with these elements. At the same time, we also find a serious underestimation of our veterans' problems among the revolutionary sections of the workers, in the shops, unions, mass organizations, and even in some sections of the Party itself.

Furthermore, the radical veteran movement in the United States has isolated itself from the struggle of the European veterans. While the officers of the American Legion are very mindful of their international relations through the reactionary Federation Internationale des Anciens Combattants (F.I.D.A.C.), the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League was very slow in responding to the call of international solidarity with the Internationale des Anciens Combattants (I.A.C.), of which Henri Barbusse is the chairman and Hugo Graef, former Communist member of the Reichstag and now in the hands of the Nazis, was secretary. This isolation becomes even more clear when it is noted that the I.A.C. was formed in 1920 and that only in 1932 did the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League affiliate with it.

While the American Legion officers devote their major time to slandering the Soviet Union, we have failed to establish fraternal relations with the veterans in the Soviet Union who are affiliated with the I.A.C., and in this way create international solidarity with the veterans of the Soviet Union and help to break the anti-Soviet influence of the leaders of the American Legion.

These tendencies and shortcomings must be quickly eradicated so that the veterans can be brought into the main line of struggle against imperialist war and fascism, a line which is now being hammered out through their joint struggles in resistance to the cuts in their compensation, allowances, and pensions, and through their simultaneous struggle for the support of the unemployed, the farmers, and on the picket lines during strikes.

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THE TASKS BEFORE US

This analysis of the various forces at play in the ranks of the veterans' movement gives us a clearer foundation for developing the line of march in the struggles to win the veterans to the side of the masses for a revolutionary struggle against war and fascism.

First and foremost this struggle must be based on the every-day needs of the veterans:

1. (a) The veterans must be drawn into active struggle against the Economy Act which deprives the wounded veterans of their compensation, allowances, and pensions. (b) An intensive and united fight must be conducted for the immediate cash payment of the adjusted service certificates (Bonus). (c) The veterans must engage in struggles in those States in which they are faced with loss of benefits because of changes in the State veteran relief laws. (d) They must carry on active struggle in behalf of the demands of the Negro veterans.

2. These struggles must be closely linked up with the struggles of the employed and unemployed workers and of the poor farmers —for the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598, and the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill.

3. Veterans as such should be drawn into and formed as groups in the ranks of the unions, strikers, and on the picket lines.

4. The groups of veterans in these activities should be drawn into the struggles of the masses against imperialist war and fascism.

5. The independent movement of the veterans should be developed so that it becomes directly connected with the international struggle against war and fascism through active participation with, and support of, the I.A.C.

6. Fraternal relations should be developed with the veterans in the U.S.S.R. by a steady course of correspondence and through delegations of invalid or disabled veterans to the U.S.S.R.

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION

The methods through which this program can be carried through must be:

1. The development and building of posts of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League in neighborhoods and shops.

2. The building of friendly groups of veterans in bourgeois veteran organizations for a common struggle on the united front program of veterans' demands which was established in the Rank-and-File Convention in Washington, May 10-28, 1934.

3. The organizing of groups of unattached veterans on a resi-

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dential or an election district sub-division basis around this common united front program.

4. The drawing of Negro veterans into all committees in the leadership of this movement.

5. The carrying through of an intensive campaign to build Veterans Rank-and-File Committees on the plan of the Veterans National Rank-and-File Convention in Washington, D. C.

It is only with such political perspectives and through the active participation of the veterans in daily struggles for their immediate needs, through the raising of these economic and political struggles to a higher political level as an integral part of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, that we can bring these sections of the masses into the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and fascism.

The recent struggles of the veterans in the United States prove clearly that these forces can be won over to the side of the revolutionary struggle against American imperialism.

It now, more than ever before, becomes the duty of the class-conscious sections of the masses to support the veterans in order to hasten the process of winning them over for revolutionary struggle.

1. Fight for the demands of the veterans—for the immediate cash payment of the Bonus and the repeal of the Economy Act!

2. Veterans! Join the struggle against fascism and imperialist war!

3. Support the masses in their struggle against the N.R.A. which is used as a means of war preparation!

4. Expose the reactionary leaders of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc., who are leading the veterans into another imperialist war!

5. Negro and white veterans, unite!

6. Support the Seventh World Congress of the I.A.C.!

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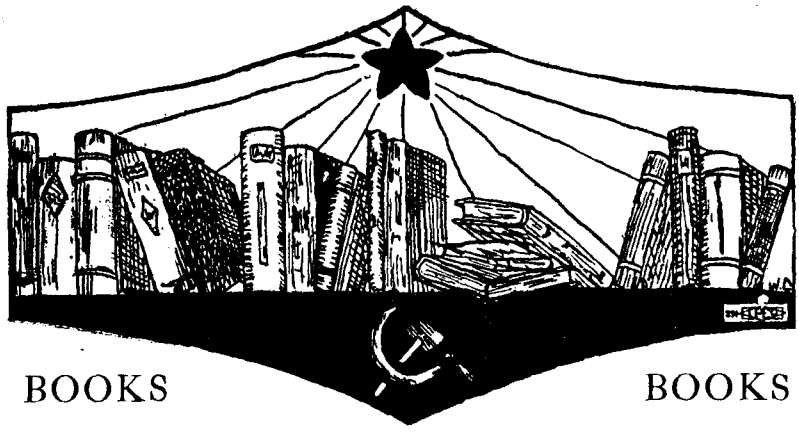

LABOR FACT BOOK II, *by Labor Research Association.* International Publishers, New York, 1934; 222 pages—appendix, bibliography, subject index. Cloth bound. Price, 95 cents.

Reviewed by JOHN IRVING

THE publication of *Labor Fact Book II* will be hailed by revolutionary workers in America as a most timely aid in their day-to-day struggle against the capitalist attempt to shoulder on them the costs of the crisis.

The demagoguery emanating from Washington, the downright lying of the kept press, the rantings of the reformists and social-fascists, cannot but confuse and often mislead the most class-conscious worker if he does not have the pertinent facts at his ready command. Here, in this book by the Labor Research Association, he will find not only the bare, unadulterated facts, but also a most scholarly, yet a very readable treatment of the facts with which to confound his enemies.

And the worker will find in the pages of this small compendium the facts that provide the basis for an education in Marxist political economy *as applied to the United States.*

The contents of the book deal, to follow the chapter headings, with "The Economic Crisis in the U. S.", "Capitalist Program for the Crisis", "Workers' Conditions in the Crisis", "Workers' Organizations and Struggles", "The Negro", "Farmers in the U. S.", "Fascism", "Preparing for Imperialist War", and "The Soviet Union". Each one of these topics is subjected to a Marxist-Leninist scrutiny. Clearly and relentlessly, the very first chapter exposes the capitalist lie that this is "just one more crisis" like the many others of the past, by demonstrating its true nature as a phase of the general crisis of world capitalism. By 1929, "*The mechanical forces of production which capitalism had created were too large for the dwindling markets*", the authors point out and proceed to prove it by fact and figure.

In the second, third, and fourth chapters, the authors show how by going into "partnership with business", the Roosevelt Administration has strengthened the dominance of finance capital over the life and labor of the American masses; how under the N.R.A. the first overt steps have been taken on the road to an American brand of fascism, how more and more efforts are being made, in connivance with the A. F. of L. officialdom, to hog-tie labor, and how the very steps toward "recovery" have meant an intensified pressing down of the

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workers' living standards. Concretely, the chapters expose the whole fake program of recovery which even at this very moment the National Recovery Administration is trying to resell to the workers, and cite the "Workers' Answer" to it as formulated by the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., held in Cleveland, April 2-8, 1934.

In the chapter on "Workers' Organizations and Struggles", the strike-breaking tactics of the N.R.A. and the extent of racketeering in the A. F. of L. are thrown into focus, and brief descriptions are given of the developments in the T.U.U.L., the independent unions, the A. F. of L., and in the unemployment organizations, since the first *Labor Fact Book* was issued in 1931.

The chapter on the Negro and that on the farmer are admirable. That on fascism should set aright many a fellow-traveller who has fallen into the double error of believing both that fascism is a new form of mass movement and that it is an inevitable stage in capitalist development. "Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital", the authors quote the definition of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum, December, 1933). "Fascism arose out of the general crisis of capitalism", they go on to show, and its very terror is a measure of the inability of the capitalists to solve the crisis.

> "The growth of fascism, therefore, indicates the growth of the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the masses at the rule of capital. The capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy. . . . Capital is therefore forced to undertake open terrorist dictatorship. . . . "

And this very incisive warning is given to reformists and would-be radicals:

> "The victory of fascism is only possible where Social-Democracy has succeeded over a prolonged period in holding back its proletarian members from a united front with the Communists, in beating back the revolutionary wave, and in throwing its full support to the bourgeois dictatorship under its democratic forms."

The chapter on preparation for imperialist war (Chapter VIII) should have been longer. The figures given are compact and doubtless the most useful and effective ones. We wish, however, that space would have permitted many more tables and charts on this subject.

Then there is a brief chapter on the Soviet Union, which offers a tantalizing glimpse into the Workers' Fatherland. The chapter could have been strengthened, however, were more data given on the Soviet Union, even though the essential data on the First and Second Five-Year Plans are well presented. More on the cultural life of the Soviet Union would be welcome.

Finally, it would be well to have a more extended Appendix containing data on the economic and cultural "progress" of this "richest country in the world" of ours, especially for the more immediate past. We understand that some 50,000 words were "killed" in order to bring the whole book down to the space requirements and to keep the price of the book as low as possible. Perhaps a lot of this sort of material on the United States was lost in the cutting.

In conclusion, may one hope that *Labor Fact Book III* will not be so long in coming as was *Labor Fact Book II*. It is hard to wait for the publication of such an indispensable book.

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